NOVEMBER BALLOT PROPOSITIONS

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OCTOBER 1986 $2.50

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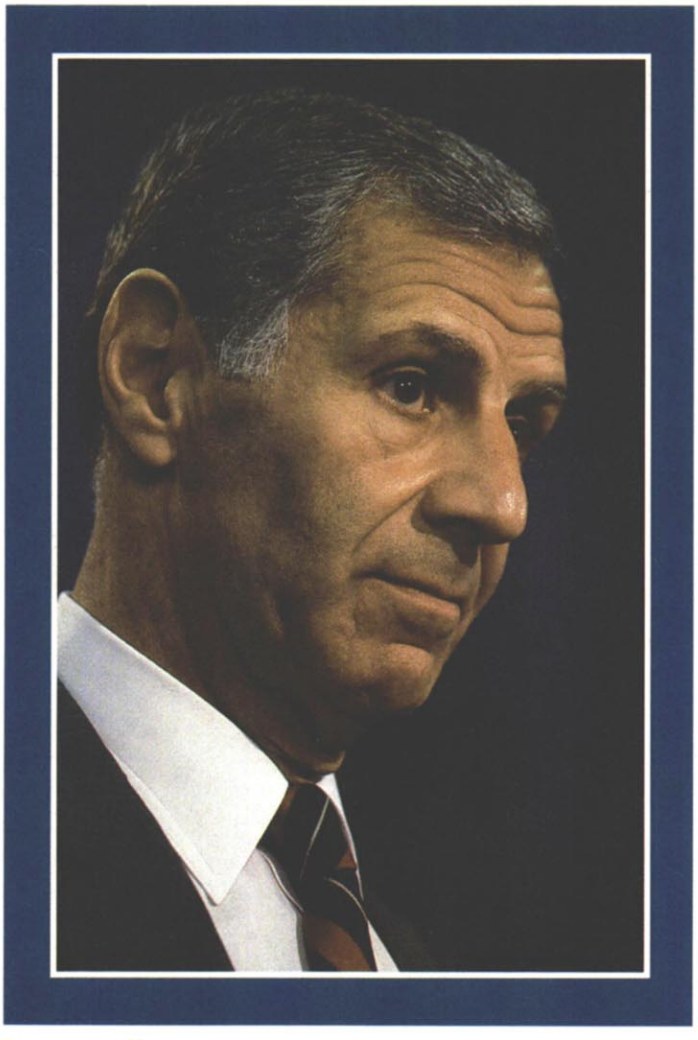

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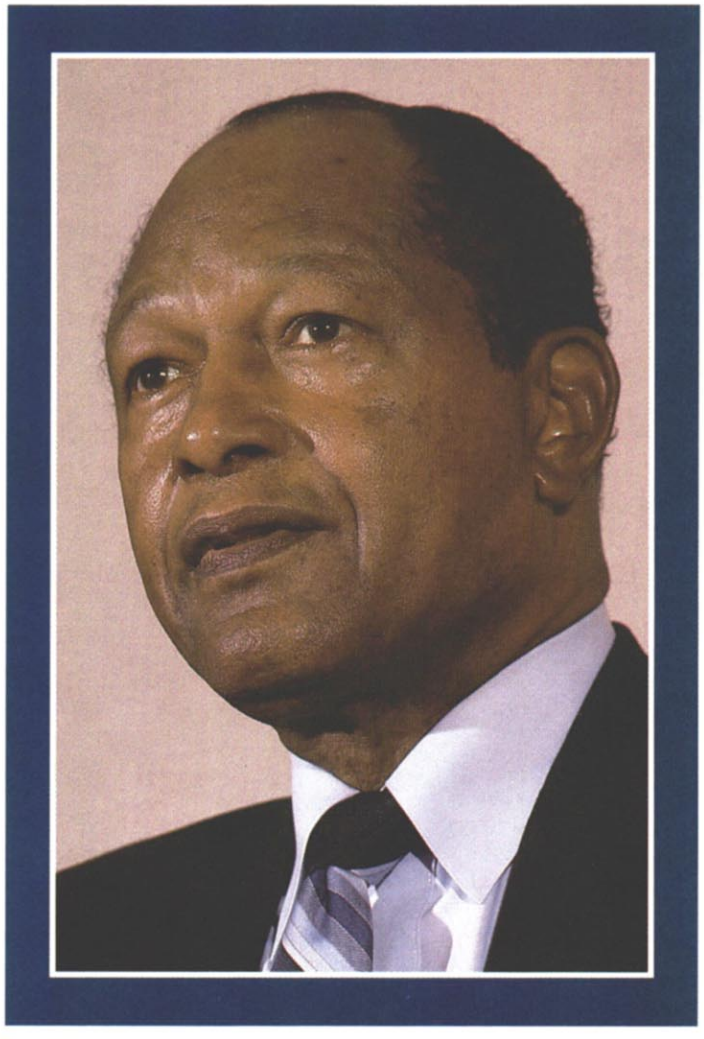

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All of these Bonds having been sold, this announcement appears as a matter of record only.

In the opinion of John K. Van de Kamp, Attorney General of the State of California, and Orrick, Herrington & Sutcliffe, San Francisco, California, Bond Counsel, under existing laws, regulations, rulings and court decisions, interest paid on the 1986 Series A Bonds is exempt from present federal income taxes and from present California personal income taxes. (See "PENDING FEDERAL TAX LEGISLATION" in the Official Statement for a discussion of certain pending federal legislation.)

NEW ISSUE

$345,080,000

State Public Works Board of the State of California

Lease Revenue Bonds (Department of Corrections) 1986 Series A (State Prison—Corcoran)

Dated: August 1, 1986 **Due: September 1, as shown below**

Interest on the 1986 Series A Bonds is payable by check mailed by the State Treasurer of the State of California, Jesse M. Unruh, as Fiscal Agent, to the registered owners thereof semiannually on March 1 and September 1 of each year commencing March 1, 1987. The 1986 Series A Bonds are issuable in fully registered form in the denominations of $5,000 or any integral multiple thereof. The 1986 Series A Bonds are subject to redemption prior to their stated maturities as described in the Official Statement.

The 1986 Series A Bonds are being issued by the State Public Works Board of the State of California (the "Board"), an entity of the State of California (the "State"), for the primary purpose of paying certain costs of acquisition and construction of a prison facility of the State (the "Facility") near Corcoran, California. The Board will enter into a facility lease with the State Department of Corrections (the "Department") pursuant to which the Department will lease the Facility from the Board, upon completion of construction, at rental payments sufficient to pay, along with certain administrative expenses of the Board, principal of and interest and redemption premium, if any, on the 1986 Series A Bonds.

Under the facility lease the Department shall make rental payments provided that the Department has beneficial use and occupancy of the Facility. The 1986 Series A Bonds will be special obligations of the Board payable solely from certain pledged revenues, including rental payments made pursuant to the facility lease. The 1986 Series A Bonds do not represent or constitute a debt of the Board, the State or the Department within the meaning of any constitutional or statutory limitation nor a pledge of the faith and credit of the State, any political subdivision thereof, the Department or the Board. The holders of the 1986 Series A Bonds shall have no right to have excises or taxes levied for the payment of amounts due on the 1986 Series A Bonds. Neither the Board nor the Department has any taxing power.

AMOUNTS, MATURITIES AND INTEREST RATES

$201,300,000 Serial Bonds

Principal Amount	Maturity	Interest Rate	Principal Amount	Maturity	Interest Rate
$11,845,000	1989	5.30%	$16,755,000	1995	6.70%
12,470,000	1990	5.60	17,875,000	1996	6.80
13,170,000	1991	5.90	19,090,000	1997	6.90
13,950,000	1992	6.10	20,410,000	1998	7
14,800,000	1993	6.30	21,840,000	1999	7
15,730,000	1994	6½	23,365,000	2000	7

Price of all Serial Bonds—100%

$143,780,000 7% Term Bonds due September 1, 2005—Price 98½%

(accrued interest to be added)

The 1986 Series A Bonds are offered when, as and if issued and received by the Underwriters, subject to the approval as to their legality by John K. Van de Kamp, Attorney General of the State of California, and by Orrick, Herrington & Sutcliffe, San Francisco, California, Bond Counsel, and certain other conditions. Certain legal matters will be passed upon for the Underwriters by Finley, Kumble, Wagner, Heine, Underberg, Manley, Myerson & Casey.

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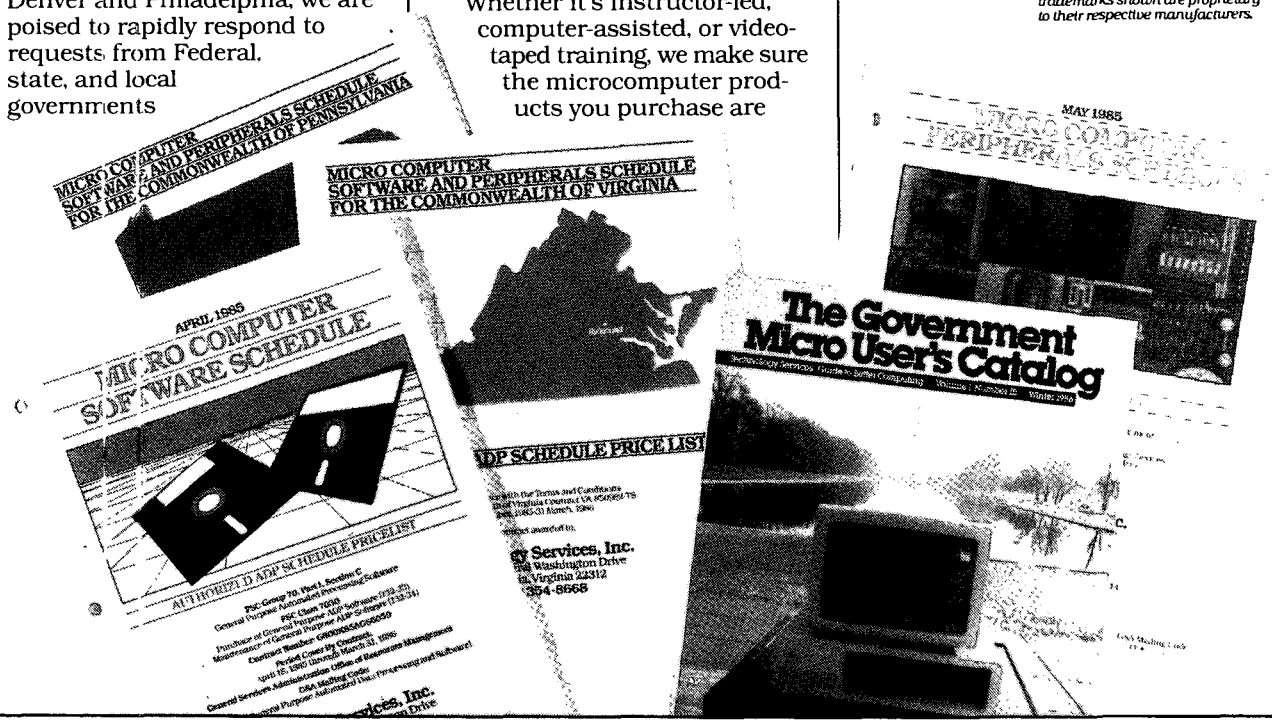
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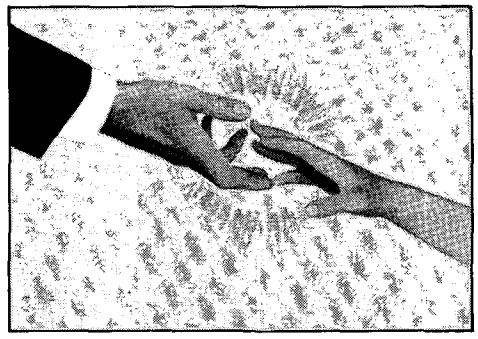

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UP FRONT

Debate debate. First off, let's make it clear. Candidates for public office should debate. Incumbents in particular have a responsibility to subject their record to public scrutiny under direct questioning by their opponents. So how come we have a raft of candidates who won't? Well, George Deukmejian says he won't because Tom Bradley — the man selected by nearly 1.7 million Californians to be their candidate — is, in the governor's mind, just unworthy to appear on the same stage with him. Alan Cranston won't debate alone with Ed Zschau because he says all the other candidates ought to be given a chance, too. Perhaps Alan's a little worried that Ed Zschau's youthful good looks just might make too powerful a contrast with Cranston. Finally, there's Mike Curb. "Me too Mike" says he'll stay away from Leo McCarthy for, what else, the same reason as Deukmejian — his opponent is just too mean. Perhaps Mike's handlers are worried their candidate might exercise his well-known talent for self-destruction if he appears in a debate. It's a cinch Mike himself has no thoughts on the subject, since he's apparently agreed to put his brain into a blind trust until the close of the campaign.

Me-too Mike strikes again. Mike Curb has been contorting himself into strange positions lately in his never-ending quest to snuggle up to Governor George Deukmejian. Recently, Curb displayed amazing agility by backing Deukmejian's support for tougher sanctions against South Africa while at the same time praising President Ronald Reagan's staunch opposition to sanctions. This performance came only days after Curb told reporters he would ask the governor whether to support or oppose the November ballot measures rather than make up his own mind. "I want to do whatever the governor is doing," Curb said. "I want to follow the governor's lead as much as possible." Although Gertrude Stein said it about Oakland more than 60 years ago, her epithet seems to describe perfectly the Republican candidate for lieutenant governor: "There is no there, there."

Do they do political work? The Sacramento Host Committee has been putting on an annual breakfast for the state's business and government leaders for the past 60 years. More than 1000 people attend, and a ritual part of the program is the rapid-fire introduction of all out-of-town guests. This year the 45-minute proceeding ground to a halt when one of the guests was introduced as head of "Pacific Terminations." Not to worry. The firm makes electronic cable assemblies.

Twixt the cup and the lip. Peace and Freedom Party officials are concerned that we make it very clear that Maureen Smith, a community organizer from Aptos, is their candidate for state treasurer. Since incumbent Democrat Jesse Unruh has no Republican opponent, that contest, say party folks, is their best chance for winning the 2 percent of the vote they need to stay on the ballot in upcoming elections. And there is cause for concern because the day after the election, the secretary of state's office was reporting that her opponent, Dov Wisner of San Francisco, was the winner of the P&F primary. According to returns published that night, and printed in this magazine and elsewhere, Wisner had amassed 14,869 votes to 3338 for Smith. Well, it turns out the total for Smith was about right (actually, final returns gave her 3396) but the total for Wisner was really 1373 — off by nearly 13,500 votes. It seems, according to a spokeswoman for Secretary of State March Fong Eu, some votes from the state controller's race "spilled over" into Wisner's column on election night. "It was caught right away," she said. And no, she says no other votes were spilled elsewhere. They're sure.

I'll show you mine if you'll show me yours. It used to be that candidates would compete for office by exposing their income-tax forms. This year more is being asked. The current rage is to ask everyone to take urine tests for drugs. Assemblywoman Marian La Follette, a San Fernando Valley Republican, introduced a bill to require all legislators to take such a test. It was quickly squashed in committee. But La Follette went ahead and sent out sample bottles to her colleagues. Her office says a few lawmakers agreed to take the test, but none sent samples back to her. As for the assemblywoman, aide Ron Kester says she took the test and is clean. No report on the results of her IQ test, though.

More from the netherlands. The County Supervisors Association of California is well known for its aggressive search for ways to improve the quality of local government services. And it looks like they've hit on a winner. It seems they're honoring innovative programs that bring together government and industry. The program, according the association's awards-application form, is being handled by the "California Pubic-Private Partnership Commission."

Strange bedfellows department. We all know that politics makes them. So it shouldn't be too surprising that Republican U. S. Senate candidate Ed Zschau and Democratic Assemblyman Tom

Hayden should find themselves occupying adjacent stretches of Santa Monica park space for Labor Day picnics. In fact the two met, exchanged pleasantries and even had their picture taken together. Well, at some point Zschau figured out that about the only thing worse than being pictured with Tom Hayden is being pictured with Hayden's wife — Jane Fonda. So he wrote Hay-

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den, certified mail, to tell him he could not "use those pictures in any public or political manner." Hayden, of course, promptly released them. By the way, the disreputable-looking fellow in the picture with Hayden and Zschau is *Los Angeles Times* reporter John Balzar who wants all to know he was wearing his normal working outfit when the photo was taken.

Chutzpah, thy name is Richie Ross. Ross, Speaker Willie Brown's political wizard-in-residence, has devised yet another item for his museum of political memorabilia — a hit potholder. One of Ross' brood this election is Democrat Ed Bacciocco, Assembly candidate in the 20th District (San Mateo County). District voters recently received a letter from prominent women in the county, extolling Bacciocco's positions on women's issues and deriding those of his opponent — Republican Bill Duplissea. Along with the letter was a potholder bearing the words: "Vote for Duplissea and Get Burned." Who else but Richie Ross would send out a hit piece on women's issues accompanied by a symbol of a woman's role in the kitchen?

(Mark Simon, Palo Alto)

Norm Shumway is also busy raising money these days, as would any respectable congressman seeking reelection. But the Stockton Republican recently received a curt "no thanks" to one of his solicitations. Seems Shumway sent a fund-raising letter to Bill Steele of Nevada City. But Steele wasn't in the mood, mostly because he was busy raising money for his own campaign — to defeat Shumway. Steele is Shumway's Democratic opponent.

And the Lord sayeth unto the *Candidates Biblical Scoreboard*: "Go, ye, and judge the politicians." Thus did they toil in the vineyards of public survey, and thus did they erect and devise a rating for each public servant. And, lo, it came to pass that, in the state of California, the governor was less holy than a candidate for lieutenant governor who was also an admitted prostitute. And who is this sage who erects and devises such ratings? David Balsiger of Costa Mesa, founder of the Biblical Scorecard. His 40-page booklet rates candidates for Congress, senator, governor, lieutenant governor, and all 50 state legislatures according to how they feel about school prayer, abortion, AIDS, pornography, birth control and homosexuality. And according to the results, Libertarian Norma Jean Almodovar — a candi-

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Los Angeles County Supervisor Pete Schabarum
California Republican Party

Proposition 61 - Gann Amendment (No) - 1986
Proposition 51 - Tort Reform (Yes) - 1986
Proposition 37 - State Lottery (Yes) - 1985
Proposition A - Santa Barbara Offshore Oil Initiative (No) - 1985
Rancho Mirage Development Issue - 1983
Proposition 11 - Mandatory Bottle Deposit Initiative (No) - 1982
Charter Amendment on Revenue Bonds for Energy Development (Yes) - 1981
Proposition 11 - Energy Surtax Initiative (No) - 1980
Proposition 10 - Smoking Initiative (No) - 1980
Proposition 5 - Smoking Initiative (No) - 1978

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date for lieutenant governor — received a 50 percent acceptability rating while Governor George Deukmejian managed only 25 percent.

On October 1st, the governor of California will have left a major cabinet post vacant for 334 days, or since David Swoap resigned as secretary of Health and Welfare on November 1, 1985. As administration officials point out, James Stockdale has been serving as acting secretary since Swoap's departure. But by not formally nominating Stockdale — or anyone else — as permanent secretary, the governor has deprived the state Senate of its right to approve his role as the state's chief policy-maker in such areas as toxic clean-up, MediCal, health planning, mental health, ad infinitum. (It did once approve Stockdale as the agency's undersecretary, however.)

Presenting, the top vote-getter in a recent Democratic primary for Nevada state treasurer: "None of these candidates." Thanks to a 1975 law, Nevadans can reject all the candidates for a statewide office by casting a protest vote. (This procedure is not available for district races, however. Legislators aren't that insensitive to their own political health.) Although it has never "won" in a general election, "none" has come in first in primaries; most recently, the Democratic race for state treasurer. This does not void the election, however. The highest human vote-getter wins. If California had such a law, who would win the 1986 race for governor? You guessed it.

(Dru Doyle, Reno)

Of the slings and arrows of the campaign trail, this one could have stung the most. Matt Webb, Republican candidate for the 68th Assembly District in Riverside County, has been walking the district and putting up signs in an effort to defeat incumbent Steve Clute. He recently attended a backyard fund raiser for U. S. Senate candidate Ed Zschau. The master of ceremonies introduced other candidates for local office, then introduced Webb — by calling him Steve Clute. Webb appeared embarrassed and failed to come up with a witty retort.

(Anne Richards, Desert Hot Springs)

Truant of the Year Award: To state Senator H.L. Richardson, Republican from Arcadia. Through diligence and painstaking inattention to duty, Senator Richardson managed to miss 6657

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votes during the 1985-86 legislative session. That represents 82 percent of the votes taken during the recent two-year session (committee and floor votes included). Runner-up is Richardson's Senate colleague, Republican William Campbell of Hacienda Heights who missed 45 percent of the votes. The Assembly award goes to Republican Gerald Felando of San Pedro who failed to vote 25 percent of the time. (Felando, however, was sidelined for several months in 1985 by kidney surgery. Had he not been ill, the award probably would have gone to Democrat Maxine Waters of Los Angeles who missed 20 percent.)

Mole bites department. For the second time this year, a clandestine spoof of a Department of Parks and Recreation newsletter has surfaced. A four-page replica of the department's official "News & Views," the parody carries a spoof warning on page one and a slashing trivia contest inside. Department officials say they'd like to find out who is responsible for the fake — and put him or her to work writing the real article. "This person is very good," said a Parks and Rec spokesman.

Mea Culpa. Due to incredible stupidity on our part, the *Journal* in August identified Public Advocates as the group founded by government gadfly Paul Gann. In fact, Gann's group is People's Advocate. Public Advocates is a public-interest law firm based in San Francisco. We regret the mistake.

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front," so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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A Grim

Can Tom catch the Duke?

BY RIC

David Townsend, one of Tom Bradley's campaign advisors, explains the dynamics of electoral politics by holding his hands in the shape of the letter V, turned on its side. His lower hand, the one pointing upward, represents his candidate's scores in public-opinion polls during the past six months. His upper hand, the one pointing downward, represents poll scores for rival George Deukmejian.

"At some point, the lines will cross," Townsend explains. "The question is, will it be by election day?"

The current answer from the Bradley camp is, yes. And it is said with some conviction. In the minds of Bradley supporters, the mayor's chances of unseating incumbent Deukmejian have moved from "longshot" to "possible."

A more neutral assessment would probably move Bradley's efforts from "hopeless" to "unlikely."

Despite Bradley's recent rise in the polls — he moved from a low of 22 points below Deukmejian in a May *California Poll* to as close as 6 percentage points in one August statewide poll — the incumbent governor is still in a commanding position going into the final month of the campaign.

Deukmejian is still the incumbent governor with the power to command media attention at will; the state is still in good economic times, the public continues to think Deukmejian has done a good job for the past four years, and Deukmejian has a campaign warchest that will allow him to air about three television spots for every one placed by Bradley.

If the Bradley campaign has found a new, upbeat feel, it also has the grim quality of those who are involved in a fight they know they probably will lose between candidates who genuinely dislike each other. Setting the style for this is Bradley, who is used to fighting as an underdog. His descriptions of Deukmejian have become harsher, and the slashing attacks on the governor, which may have started as a campaign tactic, now have the ring of conviction.

"He's long on talk and short on deeds," said Bradley in a recent interview with the *Journal*. "Do you think George Deukmejian is a nice man? I think he lacks compassion. I think he's an uncaring individual."

Bradley also charges the governor with a "lack of leadership" and a desire only to protect the special interests who have benefited from the Deukmejian administration. The charges have been eagerly answered by Deukmejian who has criticized Bradley for a "shameful" record on law enforcement and who says Bradley's campaign is so repugnant that he cannot appear on the same debate platform with his opponent.

For Deukmejian, the attacks have been largely defensive. But the Bradley forces believe their candidate has to be aggressive in order to win.

An impact

Bradley's campaign has been most effective when he brings up the toxic issue. Although the Deukmejian campaign screams loudly that the Bradley attacks are unfair — particularly the charge that the governor is a captive of polluters because of the campaign contributions he has taken — and has hit back with its own charges about Los Angeles' poor record on sewage disposal in Santa Monica Bay, the

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ematch

ZEIGER

Bradley claims have had an impact with voters. At the very least, some Democrats who had been inclined to vote for the governor have developed doubts, moving into the undecided column in public opinion polls. Bradley has also been aided by Proposition 65, the toxic waste initiative he supports and Deukmejian opposes, that will also appear on the November ballot. According to August polls, that measure — which got to the ballot largely because of support from the Bradley camp — is very popular with voters.

But so far, at least, that issue is the only one that has really caught on with voters. Bradley has tried others: insurance, where he says the governor has protected the industry; education, where he claims Deukmejian has vetoed more bills than any other governor; and drugs, were he says the administration has failed to take the initiative and made things worse by vetoing $1 million from drug and alcohol programs.

Even if no other single issue matches toxics in capturing voter fancy, Bradley maintains that the cumulative weight of evidence will sink Deukmejian.

There is little question the Bradley campaign has come a long way since last spring when its hallmark seemed to be the mistakes it made. Bradley appeared to have stumbled badly in dealing with his position on Chief Justice Rose Bird. First he said he wanted time to decide. Then, appearing pressured, he said he wouldn't state a position because he thought partisan candidates ought to stay out of the race. But despite periodic efforts by the Deukmejian campaign to fan that flame, there have been few signs voters will hold that against Bradley on election day.

The Bird episode was followed by a Sacramento press conference where Bradley appeared ill-prepared to discuss his own water program. Also, the campaign staff itself was the subject of rumors of dissension and disorganization.

But in June, Bradley replaced campaign manager Mary Nichols, a member of former Governor Jerry Brown's cabinet, with Los Angeles attorney Robert Thompson, and things seemed to get smoother while Nichols moved over to concentrate on raising money — a constant problem for the campaign. The smoother day-to-day operations have also freed campaign director Tom Quinn, Jerry Brown's first Air Resources Board chairman, to work on long-range campaign strategy.

A lot for less

Bradley maintains his campaign is raising enough money and points to the fact that he is ahead of where he was four years ago and that he raised more money than Deukmejian in the reporting period ending in June. But there are occasional signs that the campaign did not have enough money to do all it wants. Some television spots were booked, and then canceled. And in September Bradley's campaign announced he would hold a 1000-mile relay during the final weeks of the campaign in an effort to get some cheap publicity and perhaps raise $1 million. For Bradley, it may not be a bad ploy since it can evoke for voters the image of Los Angeles' successful summer Olympics. But it's the type of tactic usually associated with a campaign that's out of resources.

Deukmejian campaign manager Larry Thomas gives the Bradley camp credit for doing a great deal with limited re-

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sources. "Quinn gets a lot of mileage out of very little." He points, for example, to the Bradley campaign's decision to air television commercials about the costs of remodeling of the governor's office that was done in anticipation of Deukmejian's arrival. The print press gave the commercials good coverage, Thomas notes, but in fact the commercials played only a few times.

Each Bradley effort has been part of the campaign's overall plan to be on the attack, to make Deukmejian and his record the campaign issue. Bradley's current campaign team rejected the approach taken four years ago when the mayor ran a much lower-keyed campaign that emphasized his past achievements. Bradley says he had no choice but to change strategies. The old one was doomed to failure.

But if Bradley, by and large, has set the agenda for the campaign, the Deukmejian campaign has been quick to respond. "We don't let him shoot into a vacuum, we shoot back," noted Thomas.

Thomas maintains that Bradley's advance in the polls is less than it seems. He points out that, while Deukmejian may have dropped some and the number of undecided voters may have increased, Bradley's own level of support has yet to rise. "He's been about 36, 37, 38 points in the polls the whole time. And in a state's that's 52 percent Democrats, that's the hard-core support. You can't go much lower than 31-32 percent, no matter who your candidate is."

"Bradley has not solidified his Democratic base. It's not enthusiastic about his candidacy," Thomas said.

And Thomas maintains that some of Bradley's attacks are really playing into the governor's hands and represent the strategy of a campaign that is based on public-opinion polls. For example, Bradley has tried to make political points off the public's concern about illegal drugs. But in this, he runs smack into Deukmejian's reputation as one of the state's foremost law and order politicians.

In fact, it is Deukmejian's effort to capitalize on that reputation that led to one of the more interesting episodes in the campaign. In mid-September, Deukmejian began airing a television spot that features a Los Angeles police detective endorsing the governor. The spot shows the man walking forward from a darkened ally.

In an interview with *The San Diego Union*, Quinn said the Deukmejian spot was racist. "I think it's dealing with the stereotypes they hope people have about a black, that he's not tough on law and order, tough on crime, that he's anti-police," Quinn told the newspaper.

It was was the first significant mention in the campaign of Bradley's race. Four years ago race became a substantial issue during the close of the contest when Deukmejian's first campaign manager, Bill Roberts, observed that Deukmejian would be the beneficiary of a "hidden anti-black vote." Deukmejian reacted by saying race had no place in his campaign and by firing Roberts. Even before that, however, newspaper stories regularly pointed out that Bradley was bidding to become the first elected black governor in the nation. Although that is still true this year, that sort of comment has been noticeably lacking in this campaign.

Bradley's managers have privately told the press they believe Deukmejian will eventually inject race into the campaign, and repeated rumors that the Roberts episode was orchestrated so that the issue could be raised. The governor's handlers resent that implication, and Thomas called Quinn's comments "disappointing and offensive. Anyone who sees the spot knows the governor will reject the charge on its face."

They quietly speculate that perhaps it is Bradley's campaign that wants the issue raised, either to keep Deukmejian from campaigning on the law-and-order theme or reinforce the campaign's claim that the governor is a less-than-honorable opponent.

The question of who is an honorable opponent has also had an effect on the likelihood that there will be no direct debate between the two candidates this year. Despite prodding by the League of Women Voters and newspapers in the state, the Deukmejian campaign has resisted all efforts to be drawn into debates, claiming the governor will not appear with the mayor until "untruthful and personal attacks" cease.

Thomas said the governor's position on that is unlikely to change, and he concedes that there may be some political price to pay. But with a large lead in the polls, the advantages of a debate are small, and the drawbacks are large.

If Deukmejian debates, although Thomas insists the governor would "cream him," there is always the possibility of a blunder. And even some of the mayor's friends, notably Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, have said publicly that only a major blunder by Deukmejian can win the race for Bradley. The ever-cautious Deukmejian camp has no intention of taking unnecessary chances.

Instead, Deukmejian will hammer away on television with his few well-chosen themes, arguing that the state is in good shape and he deserves the credit. He also has the financial flexibility to respond to any given Bradley attack.

Bradley, however, is still in the awkward position of trying to get voters to doubt Deukmejian. He has had some success with that and might have more. But even if he gets enough Deukmejian supporters to waiver, he must then get them to vote for him. So far, Bradley has shown few signs of being able to do that. Although he is strong in his criticism of the incumbent and has offered a raft of position papers to show where his policies differ, he has failed to articulate why the voters should turn to him. Bradley can be eloquent on that subject. But the chances are good he will have neither the time nor the resources to do so before November 4th.

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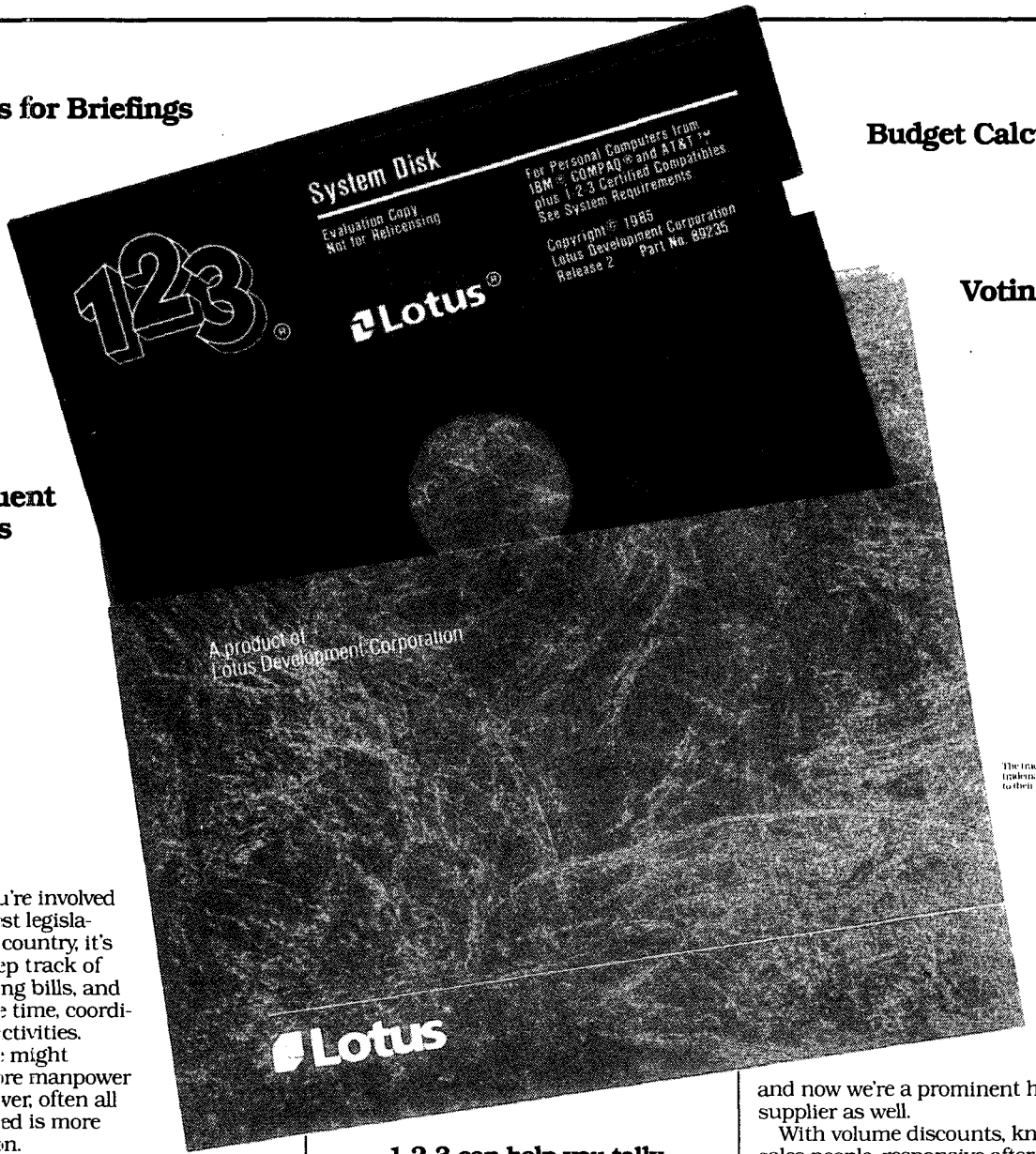
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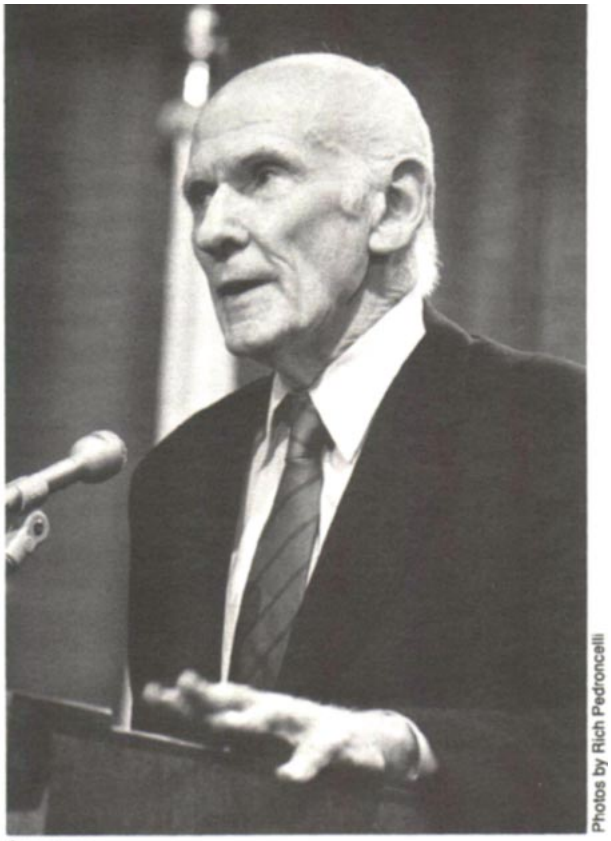

Cranston

Photos by Rich Pedroncelli

SENATE CONTROL AT STAKE

Campaign 86

National attention focused on Cranston-Zschau

By RICHARD BERGHOLZ

It's midnight on November 4th, election day. That makes it 3 A.M. back at the national party headquarters and at the White House in Washington, D.C., and at media centers in New York. There is a common concern: The race for U.S. senator in California is so close, nobody can call it.

And just suppose, the way things are going, what it means is that partisan control of Congress hangs in the balance. One by one — first in the Eastern time zone, then Central, then Mountain — the Senate returns have been pouring in, building up to a California cliffhanger. Even farther out west, Democratic Senator Daniel Inouye is a cinch to win again in Hawaii. It all comes down to the Pacific time zone states. The count stands at 50-49 for the Democrats. One more Democratic victory and control of the Senate shifts from the Republicans to the Democrats. And with Democrats already controlling the House, that means President Reagan faces a hostile Congress for the last two years of his presidency. Nations around the world begin to ponder what this shift will mean.

And why can't election officials decide who wins in California? Because it's so close, the result may hang on a count of absentee ballots. Politicians remember all too well that Democrat Tom Bradley won the ballot-box votes in the 1982 race for governor but lost the absentee count to Republican George Deukmejian by a sufficient enough margin to change the results.

Can this sort of nail-biter scenario really happen? Of course it can. Is it likely? Probably not.

The man who holds the Senate seat now — Democrat Alan Cranston — says it won't happen because Democratic control of the Senate already will have been decided before the count reaches California. And the man who wants the seat — Republican Congressman Ed Zschau of Los Altos — says GOP control will have been assured before it gets to California. And besides, he adds, he's going to win and it won't be a cliffhanger.

The simple fact that partisan control of the Senate may be decided by California's voters gives the Cranston-Zschau race a special panache. The big chiefs of the GOP have marked it so. And Cranston, who has had two soft-touch Republican opponents the last two times he has run, readily admits this one is something special. Twelve years ago he beat state Senator H. L. Richardson and six years ago, he was able to escape the Reagan landslide because his GOP opponent, Paul Gann, was a weak candidate with relatively little money. Cranston simply ignored him.

But this time Cranston is paying particular attention to Zschau, a two-term congressman who managed to out-duel a largely right-wing field in the June party primary. The Bay Area candidate managed to do it by raising and spending more than $3 million and, at the last minute, chunking in

Richard Bergholz is a retired political writer for the Los Angeles Times.

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$300,000 of his own money. As Cranston said, after watching Zschau's primary fund-raising performance with something akin to professional admiration, he managed to "drown out with money" the plaintive cry of his opponents that he wasn't a good or consistent Reaganite conservative. So when it was over, Cranston decided, Zschau's place in the political spectrum was surprisingly ill-defined. Voters may have learned how to pronounce his name but they didn't learn a great deal about his voting record or what he would do in the future on specific issues.

Educating voters

Less than 24 hours after the primary votes were counted, Cranston set about the task of educating Californians about Zschau. He opened up with a $1.3 million television blitz that tore into Zschau as a flip-flop artist who sometimes votes on both sides of an issue. Cranston, who had been virtually unopposed for renomination, had had plenty of time to prepare for the attack. He had the money and the research and his goal was to rock Zschau back on his heels and keep him there.

Zschau now says he had expected Cranston to come out swinging but not to the tune of a million-dollar blitz. Although Zschau didn't have anything left in his own arsenal with which to counter the Cranston attack, his friends at the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee did. Anticipating either a win by Zschau or commentator Bruce Herschenson in the primary, they had prepared two television commercials for post-primary use. One was rejected by Zschau as "too strident." The other, a take-off on the Bartles & Jaymes wine-cooler commercial, was tried but quickly dropped, Zschau says, because the wine company objected. Cranston said he suspects the real reason was that the ad attacked him for missing Senate roll calls when he ran for president, and it turns out Zschau missed a lot of roll calls this year. In any case, Cranston's challenge went largely unanswered. The result: The Democratic incumbent maintained a steady momentum and dominated his opponent throughout the summer.

Zschau's friends fretted about his seeming lack of activity. They took a little solace when he made a five-day trip to Israel, although they knew he would have a hard time wresting the Jewish vote in California from Cranston. The real purpose of the trip, Zschau's handlers confided, was mainly to show his concern about Israel's problems and "to prevent Jewish groups here from targeting him (as anti-Jewish) in the fall campaign."

The lack of a visible campaign during the summer also made it hard for Zschau's money-raisers to build up the $10-12 million warchest they said they would need to beat Cranston. Contributors began to grumble that maybe Zschau was out of his league against the wily and resourceful Cranston. But a huge fund raiser headlined by President Reagan on September 7th primed the money pump again, and Zschau's strategists insisted the late start was just their way of "building momentum" for the November 4th target.

The total amount of dollars flowing into the two campaigns was predictably monstrous. The White House, the national Republican Party and conservative groups around the country have set such a high priority on Cranston's defeat that there was no way the GOP candidate was going to starve for funds. Every committee chairman in the Senate had a stake in a Zschau win if it meant continued party control. And anyone with Cranston's clout — number two man in the Democratic leadership and a veteran of 18 years on Capitol Hill — was bound to have contacts with contributors all across the land.

Thus, neither candidate can plead poverty as an excuse for what November brings.

But then again, the two candidates didn't start even. Cranston got 1,807,242 Californians to vote for him in the June primary and they might be expected to do so again. Zschau got only 737,384 votes. Cranston, a former state controller, has been campaigning statewide since 1958. There probably isn't a county which doesn't have someone who has been helped by Cranston's Senate staff, generally regarded as one of the best in the business. And whereas the incumbent has a statewide political base, Zschau has only been in partisan politics for four years and is running statewide for the first time. His Silicon Valley political base is 1/45th of the state. Although he spent a lot of money just to get himself known in the primary, mostly in Southern California, he frankly admits his name-identification with the voters may have actually dropped off a bit since June.

"But hearing of me isn't enough," he says. "They've got to know a little bit about me."

With a laugh, Cranston said that's precisely what he is volunteering to do. "I can't let him identify himself; I've got to identify him from my viewpoint."

And that, in turn, led to the Cranston accusation that Zschau is not a man of principle but one who will shift his vote to suit the political winds. For his part, Zschau sought to define Cranston as an inveterate liberal, a big spender. And because pollsters have predicted the law-and-order issues and Rose Bird and the death penalty are excellent "voter mover" ploys, Zschau is going after Cranston's record on selected drug-control bills, the flow of illegal aliens and the death penalty for certain federal crimes. Cranston has sought to avoid getting involved in Bird's battle to win another 12-year term as chief justice of the California Supreme Court, but Zschau, who is anti-Bird, thinks he should.

Issues

When it comes to arguing — or debating — voting records, Cranston has charged there are specific areas when Zschau has been on one side, then another. And much of the campaign dialogue in the early stages has been on these grounds:

- **Nuclear freeze** — Cranston said Zschau was for it at one time, then voted against it. Zschau responded that although he co-authored and voted for a freeze resolution in 1983, he now prefers one that calls for a nuclear-arms reduction, a freeze "at a reduced level." "If I am asked whether I support a nuclear freeze," he said, "I won't answer because it doesn't support (sic) my position." Cranston made the nuclear freeze initiative a keystone of his 1984 presidential bid.
- **Aid to the Nicarauguan rebels** — Zschau first voted against such aid. Then, when he started running for the Senate, he switched to support President Reagan's call for $100 million. Cranston has been a consistent opponent of such aid.
- **Development of chemical warfare weapons** — Since President Richard Nixon's days, this nation has had a moratorium on the development and production of chemical weapons. Zschau said he was for continuing the moratorium when he first came to Congress in 1983. Then he decided to support a Reagan proposal to start the process toward upgrading the U.S. chemical weapons arsenal, "in the hope the threat would encourage the Soviets to begin meaningful negotiations aimed at banning chemical warfare." Cranston is opposed to chemical weapons build-up.
- **MX missile** — Cranston said Zschau talked against the MX missile when he first ran for Congress, voted for it when he got there, and he now is against it again. Zschau explained the Reagan administration convinced him the president needed the threat of the MX as a bargaining chip in his talks with Russia, so he voted for it. "But I told them if it proved ineffective (in the talks with Russia) I would oppose it. It hasn't worked, so I oppose it." Cranston is opposed to the MX.
- **Sale of U.S. arms to Saudi Arabia** — Cranston said Zschau voted for the sale, "then said he wouldn't do it again, then said he would, then said he wouldn't." Zschau said he

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first supported the president's request in the hope the sale would bring the Saudis into the Middle East peace talks. "I said later it had failed to bring Saudi Arabia to the peace table, but nevertheless I stand by my vote because Reagan needed it for credibility as a participant in the peace talks," Zschau said. "But I also said that in the future I would be less likely to, and probably would not, support the arms sale if their justification was to try to encourage negotiations." Cranston opposed the arms sale.

• **South African sanctions** — Cranston said Zschau has voted on both sides of the issue. Zschau said he voted against a sanction bill last year because amendments he favored had been defeated prior to passage of the bill. A later bill (a "weakened" bill, said Cranston) was supported by Zschau. This year's House-passed sanctions bill was approved without a record vote, but Zschau said he was opposed to it. Cranston has supported sanction bills.

But the sanctions controversy illustrates the need for a full explanation of his voting record, Zschau added. Often, the vote comes on legislation in one form, then later in an amended form. "Amendments sometimes made a bad bill acceptable," Zschau said. Cranston argued that a lawmaker should be guided by principle and Zschau has demonstrated a "lack of understanding" of principle in politics.

Whatever nit-picking arguments ensue, there is little doubt that, over the long haul, Cranston has generally been on the liberal side when issues come down to liberal vs. conservative. When he ran for president, he clearly aimed his appeal to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. And because his role as Senate whip has made him a frequent responder to Reagan proposals, he has earned himself a high ranking on the White House list of political enemies.

In both his private and public life, Zschau has established himself as a business-oriented politician, one who relishes his moniker as "the businessman's candidate." He appeared to be the most moderate — "liberal" is too strong a word — of the seven major candidates for the Republican senatorial nomination. And when he won, some analysts pronounced that once again the middle-of-the-road faction of the Republican Party in California had emerged, presumably as opposed to the conservative faction which has held sway for the past 22 years.

This was hardly the case, however. In the June primary almost two votes were cast for conservative candidates for every one cast for Zschau who did not make his moderation on some social issues (Equal Rights Amendment, opposition to anti- abortionists) a big thing in his campaign.

Since the primary some influential conservatives — notably state Senator H.L. Richardson — have publicly disavowed Zschau. In a September newspaper column, Richardson equated the choice between Zschau and Cranston as a choice between two social diseases. Some conservatives from other parts of the country have even urged their California cousins to vote for Cranston on the theory that, even if he wins, Cranston will not run again in 1992 while a victory by the youngish Zschau may close off conservative opportunities for years to come.

Zschau has effectively turned aside that argument and pulled most of the disenchanted right wing (*sans* Richardson) into his camp. And he has done a spectacular job corraling the support — and money — of the state's leading businessmen. One exception is Howard P. Allen, board chairman and chief executive officer of Southern California Edison. He made an early commitment to Cranston, and here is why:

When the Reagan tax bill was being written in 1981, it came out of committee with a technical definition of "accelerated depreciation" that would have meant Edison and Pacific Gas & Electric would have owed millions of dollars in back taxes. Allen called on Cranston to help get the definition reworded on the Senate floor. "Senator Cranston played a leadership role in getting the changes made," Allen said, and gratitude has led to continued support for the incumbent. "I explained all of this in a 45-minute talk with Zschau," Allen said, "but some of my friends in the business community and the Republican Party are still mad at me."

But the race isn't going to be decided by the corporate giants who offer up large sums of campaign money nor by the liberals who have held Cranston in high esteem throughout his career. The key is the political center — the increasing number of independents and ticket-splitters, the socially-conservative Democrats and moderately-liberal Republicans. That's where both Cranston and Zschau say their battle will be waged.

There's no doubt Cranston faces a top-of-the-ticket problem. Democrat Tom Bradley is having a tough time in his second go-around with Republican Governor George Deukmejian. Bradley faces the same challenge Zschau does — trying to convince the voters the incumbent hasn't been doing a good job. A big Deukmejian win clearly would help other Republicans on the November ballot. Will it start Californians voting straight GOP right down the ticket? It's doubtful, given the past ticket-splitting tendencies of the California electorate.

Cranston survived the Nixon victory in 1968 and the Reagan steamroller in 1980. This time, voters will have to decide on all the state constitutional offices, including the relatively obscure State Board of Equalization, before they come to the Cranston-Zschau fight.

Cranston figures this may well be his toughest fight. Zschau thinks he has a realistic chance to upset the incumbent. Both shudder to think it might come to a nail-biter on election night when the whole ball game rests on a handful of votes that come dribbling in long after everything else has been decided.

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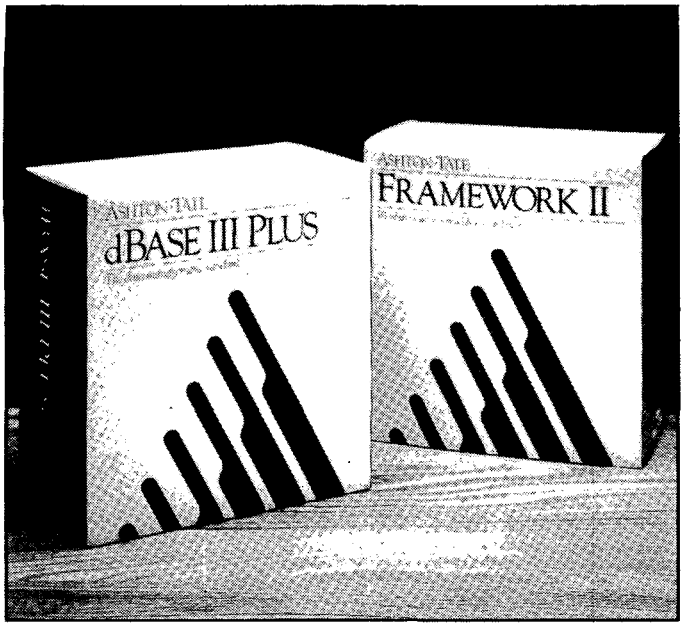

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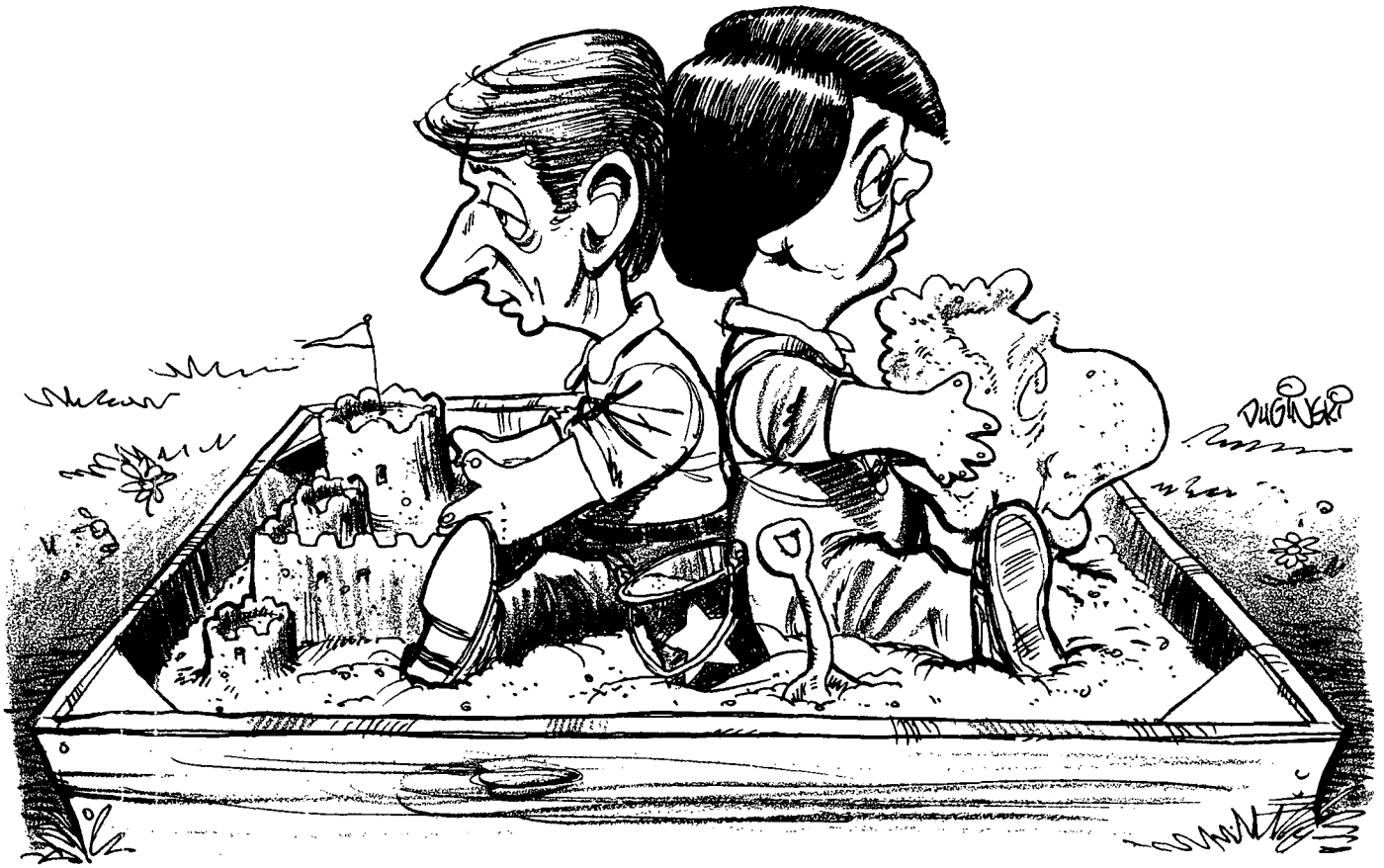

MIKE'S MISSING; LEO'S LIVID

The long-distance duel for lieutenant governor

By ROBERT B. GUNNISON

It's a strange campaign when:

- You schedule a press conference, and your rival calls reporters to make sure they know about it.
- Your campaign manager talks with reporters, and your opponent distributes a videotape of the session.
- Your foe's press kit is filled with more clippings about you than about him.

Bizarre? Perhaps. But when one of the candidates is Mike Curb, politics-as-usual evaporates faster than fog under hot sun.

Republican Curb, a millionaire recording-industry tycoon, is trying to win back from Leo McCarthy, the incumbent and former Democratic Assembly speaker, the job he held during the last four years of Governor Jerry Brown's tenure.

Curb won the June primary by easily defeating a one-time ally — state Senator H. L. Richardson of Glendora. McCarthy had no primary opposition and emerged with a fat campaign treasury.

Since then, Curb has tried to get as close to Governor George Deukmejian as possible, insisting, for example, that he will have no political opinions of his own. Instead, he will take whatever position is taken by the governor. He has also studiously avoided any situation, such as candidate debates or press conferences, where anyone might remind Curb that he once did have opinions — opinions which occasionally got him in trouble. McCarthy's campaign, of course, is eager to help voters remember that Curb is not Deukmejian.

Through the summer, Curb and McCarthy engaged in a tedious quarrel-by-press-release about whether they would ever debate. The whole episode had a predetermined quality, and by Labor Day it looked as though they would not get together in a joint appearance.

McCarthy said he was willing to debate but Curb was chicken.

Curb said he was willing to debate but McCarthy was a meanie.

Hanging over the affair was Curb's basic strategy as enunciated by his campaign director, Bill Roberts — avoid any forum that your candidate cannot control.

Roberts was not without his reasons. As campaign man-

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ager for George Deukmejian for much of his 1982 campaign for governor, he had seen Curb self-destruct under the glare of publicity during the primary battle against then-Attorney General Deukmejian.

Reinforcing the belief

Curb has made few appearances in public this year, but a couple have been doozies.

In May, Curb said California growers could not compete with farmers in other countries and states because they were forced to pay higher labor costs.

"You can't have $10-, $12-, $14-an-hour labor pitted against what they are paying for goods that are being imported into this country," he told a Republican group in Fresno. "Our California farmers will be destroyed if we forget about the fact that the labor issue is tied directly to their opportunity to compete . . ."

A nice sentiment except for farm workers, of course. But it was not quite right. News reports of the speech also quoted farm labor experts as saying current farm-wages are between $3.35 and $7.35 an hour. In addition, wages were only a small part of the economic woes faced by agriculture.

Since announcing his candidacy, Curb has made his loyalty to Deukmejian the hallmark of his campaign. By doing so, he has set himself up. Any deviance from Deukmejian's positions touches off stories that cite their differences.

The trap sprung on Curb the day after Labor Day in a speech to the Comstock Club in Sacramento. This business-oriented organization should be easy pickings for Republicans, but one feature of any Comstock lunch is written questions from the audience.

One query read, "What is your feeling about raiding the PERS fund?"

To this, Curb joked, "Are there are any other questions?" and then replied: "Certainly, I have tremendous concerns about this area. I have addressed this many times when I was lieutenant governor, and I never favored it when I was lieutenant governor. And I do intend to have discussions with George Deukmejian about this particular issue."

At issue was the governor's attempt to use funds from the Public Employees Retirement System to keep his budget reserve at $1 billion. The move was opposed by Senate Democrats and by Deukmejian's opponent — Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles.

When accosted by eager reporters minutes later, Curb had a different version. "I do not oppose what the governor is trying to do," he said. "I simply said that in the past I have opposed the PERS. Perhaps the governor has, too. I really don't know. What I will do is support the decision that the governor ultimately reaches . . ."

Curb insisted, "The question that was asked of me there is, 'Have I opposed dealing with the PERS funds in the past?" His explanation not only was contradicted by the questioner's words but by his mild joke, an indication he knew he was heading for trouble.

Helping out

It is little wonder that the McCarthy camp is trying to get all the publicity it can. For example, when Curb's campaign director Roberts held a stormy news conference to announce that his candidate would meet with reporters only in one-on-one sessions, McCarthy's staff obtained a videotape to play for reporters who missed it. And when Curb changed his mind and held a press conference on Labor Day, his organization did little to notify political reporters. The McCarthy forces stepped in to give him a hand. They made calls to make sure reporters knew about it.

McCarthy also issued a "Mike Curb Modus Operandi" — a compendium of clippings of Curb's tumultuous times under Jerry Brown.

But McCarthy gave Curb an opening when he erred about Curb's draft record. In 1982, during the final days of the GOP primary campaign for governor, it was reported that Curb was classified 1-Y (not eligible for military service) despite his assertions that he had been 1-A and ready to serve. This, and a disclosure that Curb did not register to vote until he was 29 years old, likely cost him the nomination.

In June, however, McCarthy said Curb had waited 18 months after his 18th birthday to register for the draft. Curb said that was not the case and that he had the records to prove it. McCarthy retracted the statement but did not apologize as demanded by Curb.

The Curb campaign has parlayed the incident into a full-blown indictment of McCarthy and as a centerpiece for his refusal to debate. It figures in three of seven "lies and vicious attacks" that Curb says McCarthy has committed.

While lieutenant governor, McCarthy has tried to build as much of a record as anyone can in such a low-profile job. He has served as acting governor less than one-sixth of the more than 250 days that Curb was in charge. But then, McCarthy did not serve under Brown, who spent much of his last term running for the Democratic nomination for president.

Curb is banking on two things to propel him back into office: the popularity of Deukmejian and the campaign against reconfirmation of Chief Justice Rose Bird. At every opportunity, Curb hammers at McCarthy for his support for Bird and his recent conversion to being an advocate of the death penalty.

But for all his new-found admiration for Deukmejian, Curb does not get much gushing praise in return. When the governor spoke to the Sacramento Bee editorial board recently, he was asked how he would feel with Curb in the No. 2 slot.

"If the people elect him as lieutenant governor," he said, "they know they are electing him to that office and if something happens, he will be governor."

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IN SEARCH OF A STEPPING-STONE

Davis, Campbell square off for ~~gov~~ controller

By KARIN PETERSEN

Two well-known and well-heeled legislators — Republican state Senator Bill Campbell and Democratic Assemblyman Gray Davis — are poised for a battle over the controller's seat, a fight many view as an attempt by each to step closer to a future run for the governor's office.

But, in spite of sizeable war chests — each candidate expects to spend 1.5-2 million dollars by November 4th — the campaign has been slow-starting, virtually invisible through mid-September. Presumably, Campbell and Davis plan to spend the bulk of their campaign funds on expensive television time in the final weeks of the election, a strategy that worked for both candidates in the June primary.

Campbell and Davis are the survivors of a large corps of candidates who dove into the controller's race when incumbent Ken Cory announced two days before the filing deadline he would not run for reelection, making his office the only open statewide seat in this year's election. With other consitutional offices held by well-entrenched incumbents, many of the state's ambitious politicians saw the controller's race as a rare opportunity to gain statewide recognition and a leg up on legislators with smaller constituencies come the 1990 gubernatorial elections.

Davis' primary opponents focused their attacks on his record during seven years as former Governor Jerry Brown's chief of staff, and Campbell hinted he would continue the theme in the fall campaign. "We want to make sure he gets credit" for his years in the Brown administration, said the Republican candidate.

Although the tactic failed Davis' primary contenders, state Senator John Garamendi and Assemblyman Alister McAlister, it may be more successful in a general election when the Democrat must woo Republican voters who have demonstrated much stronger anti-Jerry Brown sentiments. State Senator Art Torres said in May that attacks focusing on Davis' connection to Brown "may sell well with the Republicans," and a *Los Angeles Times* poll showed the former governor's image remains unfavorable among a significant percentage of Democrats and an overwhelming number of Republicans.

A July Decision/Making/Information poll commissioned by the state Republican Party showed Campbell jumped from 36 to 60 percent and Davis dropped from 32 to 21 when voters were told Supreme Court Chief Justice Rose Bird performed Davis' wedding and were reminded that the assemblyman was Brown's chief of staff. "We'd like to talk about the issues," said Campbell spokesman Roger Scott, "but you have to discuss who's fiscally responsible and Jerry Brown and Gray Davis left the state $1.5 billion in debt."

Gray Davis' campaign spokesman Mike Gage doesn't believe the "Brown connection" will be a significant factor in the race and points out the state was in the black when Davis left his chief of staff post in October 1981. And Campbell was

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a member of the state Senate which approved the 1981 and 1982 budgets, beginning the state's plunge into red ink. "That's probably a place where he best not throw stones," said Gage.

Former Cory aide John Jervis agrees the bruising Davis took in the primary campaign may not harm him in November because it gave him name identification with the voters, and even negative press can be an asset if it comes out well in advance of election day. Davis has held a relatively small lead throughout the summer — a mid-August *California Poll* showed him leading by 7 points with 35 percent undecided, and the most recent *Los Angeles Times* poll showed him leading Campbell by 8 points.

Vulnerabilities

Campbell has his own set of potential liabilities the Davis camp will examine in coming weeks, among them his record as one of the Legislature's big spenders and his friendship with convicted political corrupter J. Patrick Moriarty.

"A person running for the highest fiscal office in the state has been the highest spender of state monies for his (legislative) office," says Gage. That will "probably rightfully be discussed in the campaign," he added.

Scott admits Campbell's office expenditures, which have in the past been ranked highest in the Legislature, will become a campaign issue, but explains the senator must maintain two district offices because his district extends into two different area codes. Besides, says Scott, Davis' district is one-half the size of Campbell's, but he spends more than one-half the amount to maintain it.

Although both candidates have expressed their intention to focus on policy issues and the responsibilties of the office they seek, most political watchers expect the tone of the campaign to mirror that of the primary, stressing each candidate's personal assets and liabilties in slick television commercials. "Spending for and effectiveness of TV will be big in this race," predicts Jervis.

Davis, in particular, used television to build a primary campaign largely based on his efforts to help locate missing children, appearing in commercials surrounded by children who had been returned to their parents. Although he declined to discuss details of planned TV spots for the November election, Gage said he thinks the campaign won't shy away from Davis' connection to a program he is very proud of.

The "missing kids" commercials were criticized by some who viewed them as an attempt by Davis to reap political hay for programs for which he was only partially responsible. "That was heat from a very small group of people," says Gage. "The fact that somebody has a problem with them doesn't mean you don't use them."

Whether purchasing television time or making personal appearances, both candidates plan to make a greater effort to capture Northern California votes than they did in the primary. Davis and Campbell, both from the Los Angeles area, won large majorities in voter-heavy Southern California in June while their opponents polled greater percentages in the less-populous north.

Those north-state votes, as well as cross-over ballots, may be the key to victory in the controller's race, which is expected to be a high-rolling and close one.

The also-rans

"Wanted: Experienced magician. Must be capable of pulling two large rabbits out of one small hat. Send resumé to Bruce Nestande and Bruce Gleason campaigns."

The above plea has not yet appeared in California newspapers, but the fortunes of two Republican candidates for statewide office may hinge on a miracle — George Deukmejian winning reelection by so wide a margin he gov-tails other Republicans to victory over supposedly unbeatable Democratic opponents. That is the situation currently facing Orange County Supervisor Bruce Nestande, bidding to turn out Secretary of State March Fong Eu, and Panorama City attorney Bruce Gleason who is trying to oust Attorney General John Van de Kamp.

Bruce Nestande has taken a realistic approach to his race against March Fong Eu. "I'm not going into debt to wage this campaign," Nestande says.

Nestande, a former assemblyman from Orange County, ran for secretary of state this year as Plan B. Plan A was a run for lieutenant governor, a decision scrubbed when Mike Curb wanted his old job back (see story, page 487). Not wishing to embark on an expensive and uphill battle against a fellow Republican, Nestande instead chose an inexpensive and nearly hopeless campaign against the biggest vote-getter in California electoral history — March Fong Eu.

Undaunted, Nestande says Eu is vulnerable. "She's done nothing as chief elections officer on two important, election-related issues — campaign reform and reapportionment."

Vulnerable or not, Nestande admits it will take two elements to beat Eu: a Deukmejian landslide and a freighter-load of campaign cash. On the first point, Nestande hopes for a reprise of 1966 when Ronald Reagan's smashing victory over Pat Brown helped Republican Houston Flournoy ambush incumbent Democratic state Controller Alan Cranston.

But to position himself for that kind of ambush, Nestande must launch a statewide media blitz that could cost several million dollars — money he neither has nor can reasonably raise. Not only are contributors reluctant to pour money into a political black hole, but Nestande — an incumbent supervisor — is hampered by Orange County campaign-finance laws that require his major contributors to disclose every business asset and every financial partner. His friends, he says, are unwilling to endure that kind of scrutiny. Thus, Nestande estimates that he heads into the campaign with about $70,000 in the bank and few rainbows on the horizon.

If Nestande needs a miracle to beat Eu, Gleason must part the Red Sea. Not only is his opponent a well-known and well-funded incumbent, but Gleason himself is a political neophyte who has almost no money ($5000 on hand as of September 16th) and few prospects for raising it. His major hope, says Gleason campaign consultant Frank Schubert, is — again — that Deukmejian landslide.

Van de Kamp can be beaten, says Schubert. He says Van de Kamp's opposition to the death penalty, support for Rose Bird and controversial role in an unsuccessful effort to defeat Proposition 51 (the deep-pockets initiative) last June make him vulnerable.

But to capitalize on those weaknesses, Gleason needs money — lots of money. Schubert estimates that a bare-bones media strategy will cost about $100,000. Gleason, he says, will try to raise cash through a direct-mail campaign and by appealing to corporations that supported Proposition 51 and therefore may harbor a grudge against Van de Kamp.

Few other sources seem available. Schubert says the Republican Party won't help because, he suspects, it has written off Gleason's chances for an upset. That, he says, is a mistake. "Van de Kamp is going to run against Pete Wilson (for U.S. Senate in 1988) or for governor (in 1990)," predicts Schubert. "A strong campaign now will weaken him in the future."

— A.G. Block

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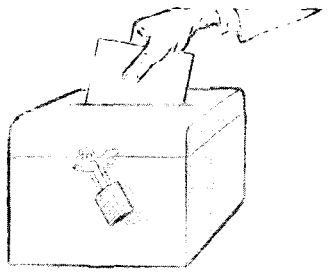

A CALIFORNIA JOURNAL ANALYSIS:

NOVEMBER 1986 BALLOT PROPOSITIONS

53 STATE SCHOOL BUILDING LEASE- PURCHASE BOND LAW

An act to provide for a bond issue of $800 million to provide capital outlay for construction or improvement of public schools to be sold at a rate not to exceed $400 million per year.

Background: As of June 1986 California school districts had applied to the state for nearly $1.3 billion to finance new school-construction projects and for another $991 million for improvements to existing facilities. Under current law, state funding for 1986-87 will contribute only $406 million to meet these requests. Included in this estimate are $130 million in bond funds from a similar proposition in 1984 (Proposition 26) and $200 million from state tideland oil revenues. Although school districts can raise money locally by issuing school-construction bonds approved by local voters (authorized by passage of Proposition 46 in June 1986), it is unknown how much money will be generated through this mechanism.

Proposal: If enacted, Proposition 53 would authorize the sale of $800 million in general obligation bonds to construct, reconstruct or modernize elementary and secondary schools. At least $400 million would be used to construct new schools; no more than $360 million could be used to repair or modernize existing facilities. Up to $40 million might also be spent on air-conditioning equipment and insulation for school districts that qualify. The bonds, supported primarily by corporate and personal income taxes as well as by the state sales tax, would cost the state an average of about $66 million each year in interest payments. Other fiscal effects include a decrease in tax revenue due to the fact that the tax-free bonds will draw from otherwise taxable income.

Arguments for: Proponents — including Governor George Deukmejian, Superintendent of Public Instruction Bill Honig and Assembly Education Committee Chairwoman Teresa Hughes — argue that over the next five years, classroom space will be needed to provide for approximately 450,000 new students throughout the state, including in many areas where classrooms are already overcrowded. To maintain current standards, proponents estimate that by 1990, improvements and renovation will require over $4 billion. Using bonds to pay for schools allows the cost of school construction to be shared equitably by today's and tomorrow's taxpayers.

Arguments against: Opponents — represented by Ellison Bloodgood of the United Voters League — do not believe new school funds or bonds are an absolute necessity to preserve California's school system. They believe that current spending is being mismanaged and that because bond monies come under the jurisdiction of state officials, local control would be undermined.

54 NEW PRISON CONSTRUCTION BOND ACT

An act to provide for the acquisition and construction of youth and adult correctional facilities pursuant to a bond issue of $500 million.

Background: In June 1986 the state's prison system held 21,800 more inmates than it was designed to house. The state's youth facilities, designed for 5900 offenders, held 7600. In the past, most money for new prisons has come from bond funds approved by the voters — $495 million in June 1982; $300 million in June 1984. In addition, voters have approved another $730 million in recent years for county jails. Yet the problem persists, exacerbated by overcrowding due to more criminals being sentenced to prison under the state's tougher determinate-sentencing laws. To keep pace with demand, some experts predict the state must build a new, 500-bed maximum-security facility every 60 days (see "Prison construction," *CJ*, April 1984). The current bond would cover approximately half the total costs projected for on-going improvement of the state's prison system.

Proposal: This measure would authorize the state to sell $500 million in general-obligation bonds to finance construction of youth and adult prisons. If approved, $14 million would be spent on youth facilities, allowing the governor and Legislature to allocate the rest on options to buy land, construct or remodel buildings, or maintain existing adult facilities. The state's taxing power would back the bond's principal and would be used to meet an estimated $43 million annual interest payment.

Arguments for: Governor George Deukmejian, Democratic Assemblyman Richard Robinson of Garden Grove and Democratic state Senator Robert Presley of Riverside,

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among the principal proponents of this proposition, argue that money for new prisons is mandatory for the continued protection of California homes and families. According to their statistics, the number of felons in the state's prison system reached 55,000 this year — double its capacity. Proponents warn that courts may limit the prison population unless conditions are improved. They conclude that tougher criminal and public-safety laws are dependent upon space for convicted offenders and thus upon funding for new facilities.

Arguments against: Opponents, led by Democratic Assemblyman Richard Floyd of Hawthorne, believe new prisons will cost less if Proposition 54 is defeated. He maintains Proposition 54 is on the ballot to circumvent government spending limits imposed by passage of Proposition 4 in 1979 (see "The Gann limits," *CJ*, March 1986). He points out that Proposition 54 is the third such proposition in three elections and argues that the state Department of Corrections has mismanaged and squandered money already raised. He also says new prisons will be built whether Proposition 54 is passed or not, emphasizing that a defeat will force the state to be more responsible with the taxpayers' money.

55 CALIFORNIA SAFE DRINKING WATER BOND LAW OF 1986

An act to provide for a bond issue of $100 million to provide funds for improvement of domestic water systems to meet minimum drinking water standards.

Background: The Department of Health Services has estimated that a total of $500 million is needed to eliminate health hazards in 900 of the state's local water systems. Since 1960 the state has sold $380 million worth of general obligation bonds to help pay for local water supply systems, including a $75 million bond in November 1984 (Proposition 28). By November 1986 all but $50 million is expected to be allocated.

Proposal: Proposition 55 would allow the state to sell $100 million worth of general obligation bonds to provide loans and grants for local water systems. Money would be used for constructing, improving or rehabilitating water systems. As with most bonds, the state could back its borrowed monies primarily by sales taxes and with personal and corporate income taxes, and can anticipate a loss of tax revenue as otherwise taxable income is sheltered by the bond. After paying back the principal of the loan, the bond would have cost the state a net total of $165 million. This figure includes yearly interest payments and up to $28.5 million in administrative and legal costs.

Arguments for: Democratic Assemblymen Jack O'Connell of Carpinteria and Richard Katz of Los Angeles, and Republican Congressman Robert Lagomarsino of Ventura argue that significant numbers of Californians continue to drink polluted water. They also say California's economic growth and quality of life depend upon the availability of safe drinking water. Support for Proposition 55 is widespread and bipartisan.

Arguments against: According to Norma Jean Almodovar, Ted Brown, Laura Brown and Stephen Malmberg — all Libertarian candidates for state or congressional office — Proposition 55 is not the best way to improve California's drinking water. These opponents say the November 1986 ballot contains a record number of bond measures which will cost the state millions of dollars in interest payments. They believe that politicians are using bonds to deceive taxpayers while still maintaining governmental programs for special-interest groups. A better alternative, they say, would be to localize fund raising for water projects, specifically in the contaminated areas, or to turn water-treatment facilities over to private business.

56 HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES BOND ACT OF 1986

An act to provide for a bond issue of $400 million to provide capital for construction or improvement of facilities at California's public education institutions, including the University of California's nine campuses, the California State University's 19 campuses, the California Community Colleges' 106 campuses and the California Maritime Academy. To be sold at a rate not to exceed $250 million per year.

Background: California's system of public higher education serves approximately 1.6 million students and includes the University of California system, California State University system, community colleges and the California Maritime Academy at Vallejo. In the past, funding for planning, construction and remodeling of campus facilities has come from the state's tidelands oil revenue and from lease-purchase agreements.

Proposal: If approved, Proposition 56 would authorize the state to sell $400 million worth of general obligation bonds over the next two years to improve California's public higher-education system. Specifically, the money would be divided between land acquisition and buildings — to provide new facilities, renovate existing buildings, buy new equipment and make short-term loans to community colleges for additional equipment. The state's taxing power would cover the bond's principal and yearly interest payments; the state's tidelands oil revenue would be used to repay additional borrowing by the community colleges.

Arguments for: Led by Democratic state Senator Gary Hart of Santa Barbara, Governor Deukmejian and University of California President David Gardner, proponents argue that, due partly to declining oil prices which affect the traditional source of funding for higher education, necessary improvements at California's colleges and universities have been neglected. Additional money is needed to cope with overcrowding, and earthquake and safety regulations, and to keep pace with scientific development in terms of technology and laboratory equipment.

Arguments against: Led by Republican Assemblymen Nolan Frizzelle of Huntington Beach and Don Sebastiani of Sonoma, opponents argue that funding for higher education should be budgeted on a priority basis decided by the Legislature and not through a bond measure. They say so-called "necessary improvements" are really items from a wish list and that bond money would only cover down payments for these construction and equipment projects. Thus, opponents argue that Proposition 56, which will cost taxpayers $1 billion over the next 20 years in principal and interest payments, would be only the first of many education-funding requests. They say that the impending debt may exceed the state's means.

57 RETIREMENT BENEFITS

Legislative constitutional amendment. Precludes the retirement benefits of any nonlegislative or nonjudicial elected

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state constitutional officer from increasing or being affected by changes in compensation payable to their successors on or after November 5, 1986. Would reduce the future retirement benefits of fewer than 20 people, resulting in annual state savings of about $400,000 because the retirement benefits of these people would not be adjusted for increases in the salaries of state elected officials due to take effect in January 1987.

Background: Provided they took office prior to October 7, 1974, the seven statewide elected officials (such as the governor and the state treasurer) and the four members of the Board of Equalization are eligible for retirement benefits based on the current salary of the office from which the official has retired, plus yearly increases that reflect inflation rates. As a result, former officeholders receive pensions that include two, overlapping adjustments — a direct, annual cost-of-living increase and an indirect bonus based on the salaries of their active successors. This situation has enabled some retired personnel to draw pensions higher than their original salaries. For example, state Supreme Court Justice Stanley Mosk — a former state attorney general — will draw $101,723 per year in pension benefits to add to his present Court salary, and U.S. Senator Alan Cranston — former state controller — will receive $134,502, a figure that is $112,452 over the amount he once earned as a state official.

Proposal: This constitutional amendment eliminates the connection between future increases in the salaries of the persons serving in the eleven state offices and the retirement benefits of those officials who took office prior to October 7, 1974. Thus, beginning November 5, 1986, these retired officials (or their beneficiaries) would receive only one adjustment — an annual cost-of-living increase — saving the state about $400,000 per year.

Arguments for: Proponents — led by Democratic state Senator Wadie Deddeh of Bonita, Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy and Board of Equalization Member Ernest Dronenberg — argue that Proposition 57 will correct a significant legal problem which, in effect, counts cost-of-living adjustments twice. Unless this initiative is approved, a small number of retired officials will receive undeserved pensions several times larger than their salaries while in office.

Arguments against: Attorney Gary B. Wesley argues that Proposition 57 does not guarantee any real limitation on pension increases. Wesley says retirement benefits are part of a person's employment contract, guaranteed under Article I, Section 10, of the federal Constitution (a state may not pass any laws "impairing the obligation of contracts"). Thus Proposition 57 may be unconstitutional. Wesley also warns that this measure would not preclude the Legislature from increasing retirement benefits based on criteria other than the salary scale.

58 TAXATION, FAMILY TRANSFERS

Legislative constitutional amendment. Amends Proposition 13 of 1978 to provide the terms "purchase" and "change of ownership" do not include the purchase or transfer of (1) real property between spouses and (2) the principle residence and the first $1 million of other real property between parents and children. Would reduce local property tax revenues. Cities, counties and special districts would lose an estimated $17 million in 1987-88; $37 million in 1988-89 and increasing amounts in future years. Remaining losses would be to school and community college districts. Increased state aid from the general fund would offset these losses.

Background: After passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, real property (such as land and buildings) was taxed based on its assessed value in 1975-76. Those assessments (and taxes) are subject to increase whenever property changes hands. Among the exceptions to reassessment are transfers between spouses and between parents and children when a court order forces housing transfers after the death of the parent or when a disabled child is involved. When no court order is involved, however, the property is reassessed.

Proposal: This constitutional amendment would broaden the circumstances under which the transfer of real property between spouses and between parents and children would be exempt from reassessment. In addition, the measure would place the existing statutory treatment of property transfers between spouses into the state Constitution. Collectively, Proposition 57 would cost local governments and school and community college districts an estimated $28 million in 1987-88 and $60 million in 1988-89 in lost property tax revenues. Under existing state law, higher state aid would offset these losses. This measure is not retroactive.

Arguments for: Proponents — including Democratic Assembly members Thomas Hannigan of Fairfield and Lucy Killea of San Diego, and Lieutenant Governor Leo McCarthy — argue that this measure will address an important problem with Proposition 13. Parents often help their children finance their first homes and then must pay high property taxes when the title of that property is transferred over. Many family businesses and farms are jeopardized by increased taxes following the death of parents because inheritance is also subject to reappraisal. Current law undermines the strength of the family.

Arguments against: Although there is no organized opposition to Proposition 58, attorney Gary B. Wesley argues that the measure is unfair to millions of Californians who will never receive a home or property as a free inheritance but must use life savings to buy a home. This is especially true, he says, of homeowners who must move for economic reasons, such as job transfers or layoffs, purchase new homes and pay many times the property tax of neighbors who may have bought their residences years before. He also argues that this prejudicial treatment also applies to renters who must pay higher rents each time their buildings change hands. Wesley says the Legislature ought to correct the inequities in Proposition 13 rather than propose amendments like Proposition 58 that perpetuate the inequities.

59 ELECTED DISTRICT ATTORNEY

A legislative consitutional amendment. Requires the Legislature to provide for an elected district attorney in all counties.

Background: Although all district attorneys in the state's 58 counties are currently elected to office, a state statutory law still on the books allows voters to make the office appointive.

Proposal: This constitutional amendment requires the office of the district attorney to be filled by election in all counties.

Arguments for: Proponents — led by Democratic state Senators David Roberti of Hollywood and Dan McCorquodale of San Jose and by Cecil Hicks, president of the California District Attorneys Association — say the office of county district attorney is too important to be made by political appointment.

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Current law contains a loophole which has the potential to make future district attorneys accountable to political power brokers rather than to voters.

Arguments against: Citing the high costs of and deceptive rhetoric used in election campaigns, opponent Gary B. Wesley says the office of county district attorney is not as accountable to the public as it appears to be. Thus, voters should retain the right to change the way district attorneys come into office.

60 TAXATION, REPLACEMENT RESIDENCES

A legislative constitutional amendment. Amends Proposition 13 of 1978 to allow persons over age 55 who sell their home and buy or build another of equal or lesser value within two years and in the same county to transfer the old residence's assessed value to the new residence. Once the Legislature passes laws to implement the measure, property tax revenues would be reduced and the loss would probably amount to several million dollars in 1987-88. Cities, counties and special districts would bear 60 percent of the loss, with the remaining 40 percent affecting community college and school districts. Higher state aid to these education districts would offset their losses.

Background: This is another amendment meant to clarify or carve exemptions from provisions of the 1978 Jarvis-Gann opus — Proposition 13. Under that law, real property is taxed on the basis of its assessed value either in 1975-76 (plus minimum annual increases for inflation), or its market value when purchased, improved or transferred to a new owner.

Proposal: This constitutional amendment would authorize the Legislature to allow home owners over the age of 55 to transfer the assessed value of their present home to a replacement home if all these conditions are met: The new home is used as the person's principal residence; of equal or lesser value than the original; located within the same county as the old; and purchased or built within two years of the sale of the old property. If the measure is approved and the Legislature implements it, the state anticipates losing several millions of dollars per year in property taxes beginning in 1987-88.

Arguments for: Proposition 60, if approved, would protect older homeowners from huge property tax increases when they choose to sell their large family homes and move into smaller residences, say proponents. Led by Democratic Assemblymen Dave Elder of Long Beach and Gray Davis of Los Angeles and by Democratic state Senator Paul Carpenter of Orange County, proponents point out that young families also benefit because larger homes would be more readily put on the market. Proponents conclude that local government and schools will not lose property tax revenue from this measure because the sale by seniors of their larger homes for current market prices will create new property tax revenue to offset any losses.

Arguments against: Again, there is no organized opposition to this measure. Attorney Gary B. Wesley says it is only a partial and incomplete solution to disparities in California's tax system. He argues that first-time home buyers with no house to sell or "trade up" would still be unfairly burdened with high property taxes. He also says the measure is not a bona fide attempt to help seniors since it does not

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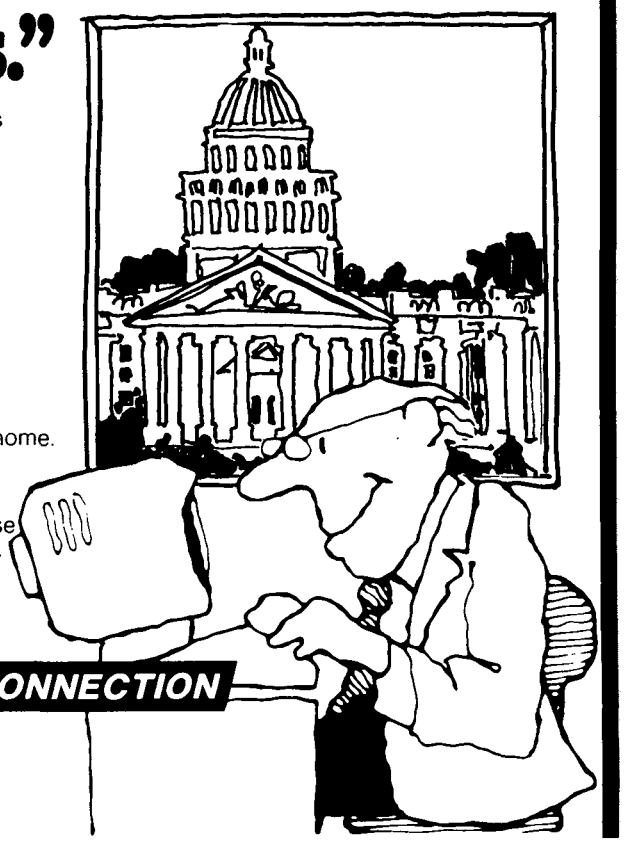

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apply to those who purchase a more expensive home. Wesley would like to see a more comprehensive tax-reform initiative.

61 PUBLIC OFFICIAL, EMPLOYEE, CONTRACTOR COMPENSATION

An initiative constitutional amendment and statute. Sets governor's annual salary at $80,000; other "constitutional" officers at $52,500. Limits maximum compensation of elected or appointed state and local government employees and individual public contractors to 80 percent of the governor's salary. Requires people's vote to increase salaries of constitutional officers, members of the Board of Equalization, legislators, judiciary and specified local elected officers. Prohibits public officials and employees from accruing sick leave or vacation from one calendar year to another. Salary and benefit-related reductions would amount to $125 million in the first year at the state level and roughly the same amount at the local level, although these reductions would not necessarily result in comparable savings. They would be offset to some extent or could be outweighed by the need to pay various costs depending on unknown factors relating to (1) how the measure is interpreted, (2) possible payment of vested sick and vacation leave at a one-time cost of about $7 billion, (3) how the measure would be implemented and (4) its effect on governmental efficiency resulting from its limitation on pay for officers, employees and contractors. Net fiscal impact is unknown.

Background: Currently, state and local governments set the salaries and fringe benefits for elected officials (such as for governor, the Legislature, judges and city council members) and for public employees. Voter approval is not needed. With regard to fringe benefits, virtually all public employees earn vacation and sick leave which, if unused, can often be carried over from year to year. State and local governments may also contract with individuals for services and, while the law places some restrictions on the kinds of services governments may provide through these contracts, generally there are no specific limitations on either the amount or on the length of agreements.

Proposal: The first initiative to qualify for the November ballot, this Paul Gann-sponsored constitutional amendment would overhaul laws governing compensation for elected and appointed officials as well as laws dealing with public contracting. Proposition 61 would set the governor's salary at $80,000 and those of all other constitutional officers at $52,500. The maximum compensation for all other elected or appointed state and/or local government officials — including judges and city managers — would be 80 percent of the governor's salary. All future increases, in response to cost-of-living expenses or other factors, would require voter approval. Proposition 61 also would ban the accumulation of sick leave and vacation time over succeeding years. Individuals who contract with government would also be subject to the 80 percent maximum and, additionally, "compensation" could not exceed $75 per hour nor could contracts extend longer than two years. Under "special circumstances" the Legislature could approve (by a two-thirds vote) state contracts providing compensation in excess of the limit, but the measure does not define these circumstances.

The fiscal impacts of Proposition 61 are complex and difficult to determine. State and local governments would probably save about $250 million in paycheck money. But these

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ıvings could be wiped out by at least three possibilities:

1) if the Legislature uses the "special circumstances" provision to raise contract compensation to make up the difference in salary limitations;

2) if governments allow other, non-salary benefits to increase in an attempt to keep total pay packages competitive with those of other public and private employers; or

3) if the cost of hiring substitute workers toward the end of a calendar year (because vacation time cannot be transferred from year to year) exceeds the cost and efficiency of current procedures.

There is also a possibility that the state and local governments will face a one-time pay-out of nearly $7 billion to compensate employees for vacation and sick-leave time earned but not used prior to the amendment's effective date. Opponents raised this spectre in official ballot-pamphlet arguments which Gann attempted to have removed. A Sacramento superior court refused to delete the argument, however, and the state Supreme Court allowed the lower-court ruling to stand.

Another significant effect of this initiative would be its impact on the public sector's ability to hire and retain qualified and experienced employees (see "The fear of Gann," *CJ*, August 1986).

Finally there is some confusion concerning terms used in the measure. The proposition uses both "salary" and "compensation." The latter typically includes salary plus employer payments for health, retirement and other benefits. The measure clearly says the governor's "salary" will be $80,000 a year. With regard to other employees, however, the proposal uses "compensation" and "salary." If a court, for example, chose to apply only the word "salary," public employees' maximum annual salaries would be $64,000 — 80 percent of the governor's. If, however, the court applied the word "compensation," salaries would be limited to $50,000 to account for about $14,000 worth of annual fringe benefits given to employees.

Arguments for: Proponent Gann argues that the only way to stop state salaries from skyrocketing is to limit them. He says opponents have tried to frighten voters with predictions about losing qualified employees. But, he says, the Legislature has the power under this initiative to raise salaries for those few state employees who deserve more than $64,000 per year. And the Legislature also has the power to raise its own salary — with voter approval. What Proposition 61 does, he points out, is force salary increases to be discussed openly.

Arguments against: Opposition to Proposition 61 includes, among others, the University of California Board of Regents, Governor Deukmejian, schools chief Bill Honig, the League of Women Voters, state employee associations and the state Chamber of Commerce. In addition, many of Gann's old allies in the Legislature have deserted him over Proposition 61. Opponents contend the state would no longer be able to hire and retain hard-working and talented personnel should this measure pass. They predict Proposition 61 restrictions would cripple the state's ability to attract, for example, top-level pension-fund managers or high-caliber professors for the state university system. Government as a whole would suffer.

Also, opponents argue that government contracts with the private sector often involve individuals charged with building highways, providing emergency services and managing toxic clean-up projects, and these persons must be paid more than the $64,000 limit put on such contracts by Proposition 61.

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62 TAXATION, LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND DISTRICTS

An initiative statute. Enacts statutes regarding new or increased taxation by local governments and districts. Imposition of special taxes, defined as taxes for special purposes, will require approval of two-thirds of voters. Imposition of general taxes, defined as taxes for general governmental purposes, will require approval by two-thirds of legislative body; submission of proposed tax to electorate; approval by majority of voters. Contains provisions governing election conduct. Contains restrictions on specified types of taxes. The measure could reduce existing tax revenues to local agencies if a majority of their voters do not ratify the continuation of new or higher taxes adopted after August 1, 1985. As this is a statuatory, not a constitutional, initiative, the provisions of this measure imposing penalties and requiring voter approval cannot be applied to charter cities.

Background: There are currently two kinds of California cities — charter cities and general-law cities. Charter cities (San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles, Fresno, San Diego and Stockton, to name only a few) have broad taxing authority granted through the state Constitution. Most Californians live in charter cities. General-law cities, on the other hand, have a similar taxing authority granted by the Legislature. The taxes themselves are either general or special. General taxes raise money for general governmental functions such as maintaining streets and supporting fire and law-enforcement services. Special taxes are those raised for a specific purpose, like expanding a municipal sewage-treatment facility. Currently, new or increased general taxes must be approved by a majority of a local agency's governing body. ... higher special taxes must generally be approved by at least two-thirds of the voters.

Proposal: Proposition 62 is the late Howard Jarvis' swan song to initiative law-making. Meant to limit the power of local governments to levy taxes, this measure instead may have a limited application, thanks to an interpretation by the state's legislative analyst's office and the decision by a Sacramento Superior Court justice to uphold that analysis. According to the analyst's office, Proposition 62 only creates an initiative statute and thus applies to the state's 362 general-law cities but not to the 82 charter cities where most Californians reside. To cover charter cities as well, Jarvis would have had to amend the state Constitution.

The measure itself is fairly straight-forward. If enacted, Proposition 62 would require a two-step process to create new general taxes: approval by a two-thirds majority of a local agency's governing body *and* by a majority of voters. It is retroactive to July 31, 1985, requiring local governments and agencies to stop collecting taxes adopted after that date unless a majority of voters approve the tax before November 5, 1988. It also would provide that all special taxes be approved by two-thirds of the voters.

Arguments for: Proponents, led by the late Howard Jarvis and Democratic state Senator Paul Carpenter of Cypress, argue that city taxes have increased sharply in recent years and that voters should have the right to approve any tax increases proposed by local governments. Governor Deukmejian also supports Proposition 62, saying that a clear community consensus is necessary before any new taxes are imposed.

Arguments against: Firefighters and police association among the chief opponents of this measure, argue that loc tax increases are not a cause for concern. They further arg that this measure does not effectively deal with potential f problems because it does not apply to California's 82 char cities. Opponents say that if taxes are too high, voters use the local initiative process or turn elected officials o

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office. Proposition 62, they conclude, would prevent local governments from raising necessary revenues, prevent flexibility and make it very difficult for local cities to function effectively.

63 OFFICIAL STATE LANGUAGE

An initiative constitutional amendment. Provides that English is the official state language of California. Requires Legislature to enforce this provision by appropriate legislation. Requires Legislature and state officials to take all steps necessary to ensure that the role of English as the common language of the state is preserved and enhanced. Provides that the Legislature shall make no law which diminishes or ignores the role of English as the common language. Provides that any resident of or person doing business in the state shall have standing to sue the state to enforce these provisions.

Background: Presently, the California Constitution does not confer any special status on the English language. In 1984 voters passed Proposition 38 which urged the federal government to require that all pamphlets and official voting materials be printed in English. Former Republican U.S. Senator S.I. Hayakawa, a proponent of both Propositions 38 and 63, argued at that time that printing foreign language ballots was both costly and a disincentive for new citizens to gain English proficiency.

Proposal: This constitutional amendment declares English the official language of the state of California and requires the Legislature to enforce this provision with appropriate legislation. It prohibits the Legislature from passing laws which diminish or ignore the role of English as the state's common language.

Arguments for: Proponents, including Hayakawa and Republican Assemblyman Frank Hill of Whittier, argue that Proposition 63 recognizes in law what has long been social and political reality. They point out that language is one element that binds a culture together, allowing diverse peoples to understand and respect each other. California, they claim, is now threatened by divisive language conflicts and ethnic distrust that the amendment would help overcome. They point out that the amendment does not preclude the use of other languages in family, religious or private business communications. However, they say, English is the language of opportunity and to participate in society, people must know English. They also argue that the measure would save the state money in bilingual translation and printing costs.

Arguments against: Opponents are led by, among others, Democratic state Senator Art Torres, who represents a heavily Hispanic district in East Los Angeles, and by San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein. They argue that Proposition 63 does nothing positive to increase English proficiency but instead discriminates against those who haven't had the chance to learn it, hampering their education and assimilation into mainstream society.

Opponents also argue that the measure could mean doing away with multi-lingual police, fire, health, safety and emergency services such as 911 telephone operators, thereby jeopardizing the lives of many potential victims. The measure could also mean that new citizens would be unable to understand public service, school and court announcements. In sum, opponents say, Proposition 63 would engender intergroup tension and intolerance. Opponents also predict that costly court battles would be needed to determine the extent of this measure's applicability. Governor Deukmejian called it "unnecessary, confusing and counterproductive."

64 ACQUIRED IMMUNE DEFICIENCY SYNDROME (AIDS)

An initiative statute. Declares AIDS an infectious, contagious and communicable disease and that the condition of being a carrier of the virus is an infectious, contagious and communicable condition. Requires both be placed on the list of reportable diseases and conditions maintained by the director of the Department of Health Services. Provides that both are subject to isolation and quarantine statutes and regulations. The fiscal effect could vary greatly depending upon its interpretation by public health officers and the courts. If only existing discretionary communicable-disease controls are applied, there will be no substantial change in state and local costs as a direct result of the measure. If the measure is interpreted to require added control measures, depending upon the level of activity taken, the cost of implementation could be hundreds of millions of dollars per year.

Background: As of June 30, 1986, there were over 5000 known cases of AIDS and 2406 deaths from the disease in California. Although there is a great deal of myth surrounding the disease, it is known to be a virus that fatally impairs the body's normal ability to resist harmful diseases and infections. According to health experts, victims usually get the virus through intimate sexual contact or exposure to infected blood. Additionally, a person carrying the AIDS virus may remain healthy and ignorant of the condition for a period of several years before actually developing the disease. The state Department of Health Services estimates that up to 500,000 persons in California are presently carriers. A high percentage of AIDS sufferers are homosexuals and drug addicts.

Currently, known AIDS cases are reported to the Department of Health Services under a regulation classifying the disease as "unusual." Proposition 64 would toss out that designation and instead classify AIDS as a communicable disease. If the disease is listed as communicable, persons who either have it or are capable of spreading it would be subject to existing communicable-disease regulations, involving both quarantine and isolation. Under existing law, an infected person may be isolated if there is reason to believe his or her condition poses a danger to the public. This classificiation has never been applied to AIDS because the Department of Health Services says there is currently no medical evidence to demonstrate that the AIDS virus can be transmitted by casual contact with an infected person. For the same reason, it is rare for a health officer to recommend excluding a person with AIDS, or those capable of spreading AIDS, from schools or jobs. Additionally, tests to determine AIDS carriers are presently unreliable.

Proposition 64 has been at the center of controversy since its proponents first began circulating petitions back in January 1986. First, the measure is sponsored by a national political gadfly — Lyndon LaRouche and his National Democratic Policy Committee. At one point during the signature-gathering procedure, Secretary of State March Fong Eu warned those circulating the AIDS initiative to stop harrassing and threatening those who refused to sign their petitions. After the measure qualified for the November ballot, Eu objected to arguments in favor of the proposition, labeling them "false and misleading." Proponents had argued that AIDS is easy to get and can be transmitted by casual contact. But Eu sued to have that language stricken from the official ballot pamphlet mailed to voters. A Sacramento superior court judge agreed with Eu, basing his ruling on written testimony from four international experts in AIDS research.

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Proposal: Proposition 64 declares that both AIDS and the AIDS virus are contagious, communicable and infectious and requires both to be placed on a list of reportable diseases maintained by the state Department of Health Services. According to the state's legislative analyst, there are two possible interpretations of language contained in the proposition. The most likely interpretation would bring AIDS and AIDS carriers under laws and regulations which currently regulate other communicable diseases. Under this option, state health officials have wide discretion in applying isolation and/or quarantine to affected persons, and it is probable that only a few would be placed in isolation, quarantined or excluded from schools or food-handling jobs.

If interpreted more strictly, it could result in expanded testing programs for the AIDS virus, imposing isolation or quarantines on many AIDS victims and excluding many persons from schools and food-handling positions. Dr. Ken Kizer, director of the California Department of Health Services, has said that to identify 90 to 95 percent of all the infected people, the state would need to test 13 million Californians at a cost of $1.2 billion. An economic-impact study, compiled by the Graduate School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley, has predicted that more than 100,000 people might lose jobs, costing the state $2.3 billion in economic output and $628 million in reduced tax revenue.

Arguments for: Proponents, led by Khushro Ghandhi representing the LaRouche-led National Democratic Policy Committee, argue that AIDS is presently out of control. They maintain that the disease may be transmitted through casual contact. They argue that AIDS is not a civil-rights issue but a deadly disease that threatens all of society.

Another proponent, Republican Congressman William Dannemeyer of Fullerton, argues that AIDS should be treated like other dangerous diseases like syphilis and gonorrhea and reported to public health officials. The measure, he says, does not require quarantine. Dannemeyer says the cost to Californians could be as much as $6 billion by 1991 if what he calls the AIDS epidemic is not stopped.

Arguments against: Opponents, led by Republican Congressman Ed Zschau, Democratic U.S. Senator Alan Cranston, Governor Deukmejian, Dr. Kizer and members of California's medical and hospital associations, say that Proposition 64 would seriously hurt the medical community's ability to treat and find a cure for AIDS. They say the proposition will make people reluctant to be tested for AIDS because of a fear of quarantine or isolation. They further point out that a quarantine itself would serve no medical purpose. They argue that no one has contracted the disease from casual contact, or from restaurants, grocery stores or the workplace. They say the initiative promotes panic and dangerous misconceptions.

65 EXPOSURE RESTRICTIONS

An initiative statute. Provides persons doing business shall neither expose individuals to chemicals known to cause cancer or reproductive toxicity without first giving clear and reasonable warning nor discharge such chemicals into drinking water. Allows exceptions. Requires governor to publish lists of such chemicals. Authorizes attorney general and, under specific conditions, district or city attorneys and other persons to seek injunctions and civil penalties. Costs of enforcement by state and local agencies are estimated at $500,000 in 1987 and could exceed $1 million thereafter. Costs would be partially offset by collection of fines.

Background: The state has a number of programs designed to protect people against possible exposure to harmful chemicals. For example, the state Water Resources Control Board and regional water quality control boards regulate waste discharge into state waters. These include discharges into any source that may be used for drinking water, including rivers, streams and aquifers.

The Department of Health Services presently regulates the disposal and clean-up of hazardous waste. Law prohibits local water agencies from supplying drinking water to the public if the water contains dangerous levels of certain harmful chemicals. They must inform customers if the levels of these chemicals exceed certain limits. The Department of Industrial Relations regulates exposure to cancer-causing materials and to other harmful substances in the workplace, including pesticides, and also must inform workers who might be exposed to dangerous substances.

Proposal: This measure proposes two additional requirements for businesses with 10 or more employees. First, it generally prohibits those businesses from knowingly releasing cancer-causing chemicals or more than a fractional amount of other toxic materials into a source of drinking water. It would require those businesses to warn people before knowingly and intentionally exposing them to chemicals that cause cancer or reproductive toxicity. Enforcement would probably result in new restrictions on permits given to businesses which discharge chemicals into sources of drinking water. Fines would be increased for offenders and civil penalties imposed. Finally, the measure would allow the state and local governments to sue those who broke the law.

Arguments for: A coalition of Democrats and environmentalists — including Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, Assemblyman Lloyd Connelly of Sacramento, state Senator Art Torres of Los Angeles, Los Angeles County District Attorney Ira Reiner and Little Hoover Commission member Albert Gersten — argue that present toxic laws aren't tough enough. They claim the public is ill-informed about toxic substances in its drinking water, jeopardizing the public health. They also point out that Proposition 65 focuses only on chemicals that are known to cause cancer or reproductive disorders, that despite arguments to the contrary, the measure will mean tougher law enforcement and will apply to big businesses that produce most of California's hazardous waste.

Arguments against: Republican Assemblywoman Cathie Wright of Simi Valley and Dr. Bruce Ames, chairman of the Department of Biochemistry at UC Berkeley, say Proposition 65 will not produce safe drinking water. Opponents, which also include a coalition of oil and chemical businesses and farm groups, argue that this measure exempts public agencies, the biggest water polluters in the state. Publicly-owned nuclear power plants, city sewage that drains into freshwater streams, public water systems, military bases and county landfills would be exempted, for example. Opponents also argue that the proposition's limits are unrealistically restrictive and will drive many industries out of California.

Farmers object to Proposition 65 because, they say, it would effectively ban many common fertilizers, as well as weed and pest-control materials. Proving the safety of these pesticides, one way to justify the use of such chemicals, would be a heavy financial and legal burden for the industry.

Governor Deukmejian also opposes Proposition 65, calling it "transparently political." Deukmejian and other Republicans see the measure as a political vehicle for Bradley — Deukmejian's November opponent, whose aides helped draft the initiative.

This ballot booklet was written and edited by the staff of California Journal. *The data were compiled by* Journal *intern Betsy Jones.*

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AIR WAR OVER ORANGE COUNTY

By LARRY PETERSON

It will be a minor miracle if it doesn't come down to fisticuffs. Only the end of the world will stop it from being the most expensive and hardest-fought congressional race in California. At least that's what they're saying about the contest in the 38th District between incumbent Republican Robert Dornan of Garden Grove and his Democratic challenger — Santa Ana Assemblyman Richard Robinson.

Neither the candidates nor the battleground, a patchwork of suburban and blue-collar constituencies in central and western Orange County and Cerritos in Los Angeles County, are strangers to costly donnybrooks.

Dornan, a flamboyant conservative who thrives on political combat, spent $1.1 million — tops for a congressional race in the state — to beat Democratic incumbent Jerry Patterson in 1984. He shelled out more than $1.9 million in 1980 to defend a Los Angeles-area congressional seat he held for three terms before being forced out by reapportionment in 1982.

Two years ago, Robinson, a moderate-to-conservative lawmaker long on legislative expertise and short on temper, shelled out $900,000 to keep his Assembly seat in a district that overlaps heavily with the 38th. He won a sixth two-year term by only 256 votes.

continued on next page

Larry Peterson is a political writer for The Register *of Orange County.*

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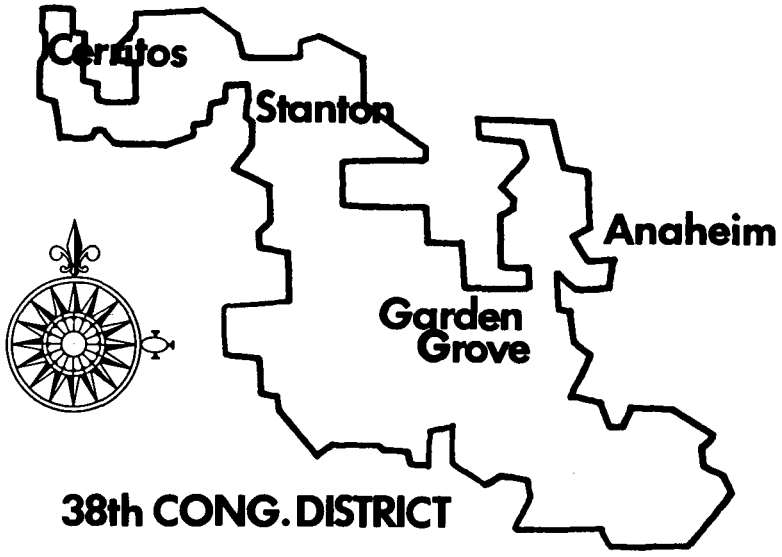

This time both Dornan, 53, and Robinson, 43, are talking about spending $1 million or more, and it won't be to exchange love letters. Mailbox posts in the district already are bowed under the weight of campaign mailers from both candidates. But it's different than in 1984, when Dornan hammered Patterson for his liberal voting record and Patterson called Dornan an extremist. For one thing, Robinson is well to the right of Patterson; for another, Patterson never was able to make the extremist label stick. They do disagree on some matters — Robinson supports the Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction plan and Dornan opposes it; Robinson sometimes votes for tax-funded abortions which Dornan staunchly opposes. But overall, the campaign is more a collision of themes than a clash on issues.

Robinson is trying to portray Dornan as an ideologue whose preoccupation with foreign policy and military affairs hinders him from effectively representing the district. He likes to contrast his sponsorship of major bills on transportation, courts, the state budget and Medi-Cal reform to Dornan's globe-trotting advocacy of anti-communist rebels in far-flung corners of the world. "While I have been working with Governor Deukmejian to solve problems," Robinson says, "Dornan's been the self-appointed under undersecretary of state to the third world."

Robinson also is attacking Dornan for erratic behavior such as scuffling in the Capitol last year with Congressman Tom Downey, a New York Democrat, and his description of Soviet spokesman Vladimir Posner as a "betraying little Jew."

Dornan, a long-time supporter of Israel, dismisses the Posner remark as a "verbal typo" and claims the fracas with Downey, which he says Downey started, won't hurt him in the district. The incumbent also produces testimonials of city officials in the district who praise him for help on matters ranging from traffic congestion to low-income housing. "Dick apparently has a rather narrow concept of what it takes to be a congressman," says Brian Bennett, Dornan's campaign manager. "You can't be a state assemblyman in Washington."

For his part, Dornan is depicting Robinson as an old-style, back-room wheeler-dealer who flip-flops on the issues and is out of touch with the local electorate. But Hope Warschaw, Robinson's campaign manager, cites voting-record studies (among them one by *California Journal*) that describe Robinson as independent, a trait she says polls indicate district voters value highly.

Dornan also points to allegations by Richard Keith, a former associate of convicted political corruption figure W. Patrick Moriarty, that Robinson accepted the services of prostitutes provided by Moriarty. Robinson denies it and no supporting evidence other than the statement of Keith, himself convicted of filing false financial statements, has been made public. Noting that Robinson's primary election opponent raised the matter in his campaign and yet lost to Robinson by a 2-to-1 margin, Warschaw says it's a non-issue. Responds Bennett: David Carter, Robinson's opponent, "just didn't do it right."

In addition to incumbency, the district's nominally Democratic voter registration appears to weigh in Dornan's favor. He beat Patterson by more than 12,843 votes in 1984 when the Democrats held a 50-to-39 percent voter sign-up edge over the GOP. Since then, the gap has narrowed to 48.5 to 41.4 percent.

But Robinson claims that Dornan won't be able to use as effectively his most potent 1984 weapon — the popularity of President Reagan. Reagan, who made personal plugs for Dornan in 1984, ran 16 percentage points ahead of Dornan in the district last year and won't be on the ballot this year. But Dornan says Reagan will be available to campaign for him "if we need him."

A poll taken for Robinson in late August by Fairbank, Bregman and Mullen of Sacramento gave Dornan an 42-33 edge. The bottom line, claimed Warschaw, is that the incumbent is "very vulnerable." Not surprisingly, countered Bennett, soundings for Dornan taken by Los Angeles-based pollster Arnold Steinberg show Dornan doing "substantially better."

Should the outcome be extremely close, some may wonder about the impact of Buena Park photo-journalist Lee Connelly, the Libertarian nominee. Otherwise, his weak political base and lack of funds will relegate him to asterisk status.

In any case, no one disputes the assessment of Newport Beach Republican Assemblyman Gil Ferguson, a staunch Dornan backer who nevertheless accords Robinson begrudging respect. Especially in its hectic last few weeks, Ferguson said, the race will be "an absolute barn-burner."

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****
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SB 1970 ELECTRICITY: DEMAND AND SUPPLY FORECAST: REPORT
ROSENTHAL

ACTIONS:
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02/24/86 REFERRED TO SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY & PUBLIC UTILITIES
04/08/86 PASSED BY SENATE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY & PUBLIC UTILITIES
04/08/86 REFERRED TO SENATE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
04/21/86 AMENDED
05/12/86 FROM COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
05/22/86 PASSED BY SENATE
05/22/86 INTRODUCED IN ASSEMBLY
06/02/86 REFERRED TO ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON UTILITIES & COMMERCE
06/18/86 PASSED BY ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON UTILITIES & COMMERCE
06/18/86 REFERRED TO ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE ON WAYS & MEANS

SENATE DAILY HISTORY

S.B. No. 1970—Rosenthal.
An act relating to electricity.
1986
Feb 18—Introduced. Read first time. To Com. on RLS. for assignment. To print
Feb 20—From print. May be acted upon on or after March 22.
Feb 24—To Com. on E. & P.U.
Mar. 17—Set for hearing April 8.
April 17—From committee: Do pass as amended, but first amend, and re-refer to Com. on APPR. (Ayes 5. Noes 0. Page 5053.)
April 21—Read second time. Amended. Re-referred to Com. on APPR
April 30—Set for hearing May 12.
May 12—From committee: Be placed on second reading file pursuant to Senate Rule 28.8.
May 13—Read second time. To third reading.
May 19—To Special Consent Calendar.
May 22—Read third time. Passed. (Ayes 30. Noes 0. Page 5887.) To Assembly
May 23—In Assembly. Read first time. Held at Desk
June 2—To Com. on U. & C.
June 23—From committee: Do pass, but first be re-referred to Com. on W. & M. (Ayes 11. Noes 0.) Re-referred to Com. on W. & M.

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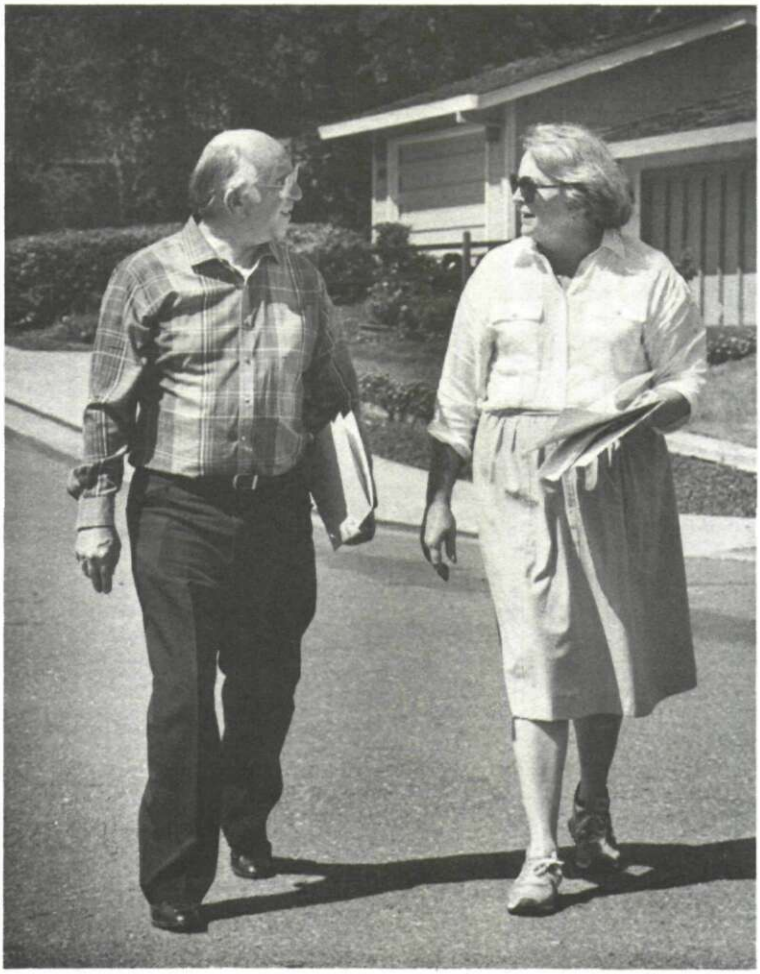
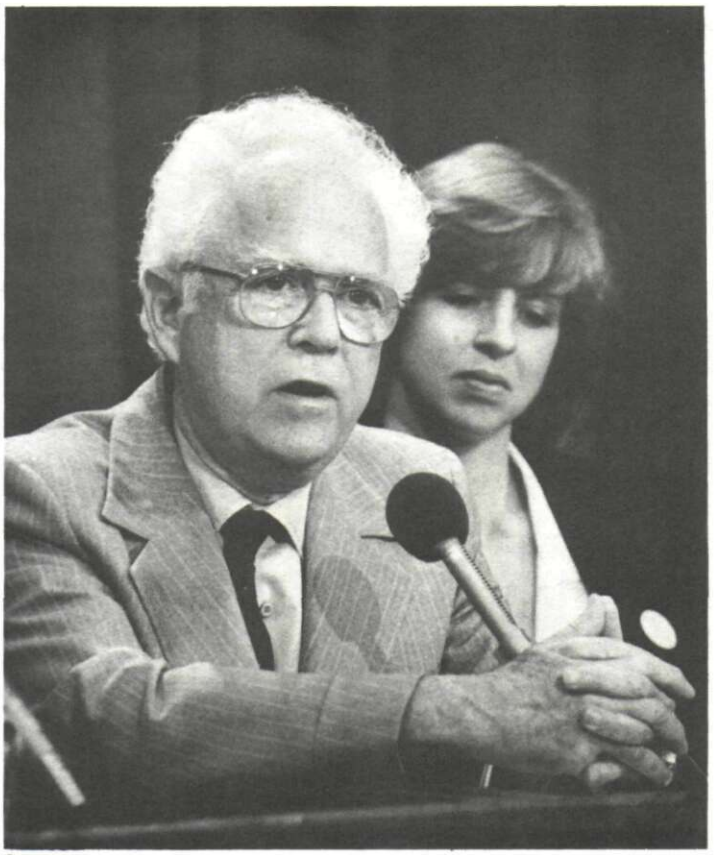


Photos by Rich Pedroncelli

Smoley



Greene

SENATE, ASSEMBLY

Democrats st
Sacra

By MARY CRYSTAL CAGE

Twenty years ago, Sacramento was known as a sleepy river city where local politics was confined to sending Democrats back to relatively safe seats in the Assembly and Senate. The population supported itself largely by working for state government.

But during the 1970s Sacramento — and Sacramento politics — began to change. The population grew as private, high-tech industries moved in, and their arrival changed the tenor of the state's capital. Politically, it began tilting to the right.

The first evidence of this shift occurred in 1980 when an 18-year veteran of the state Senate — Democrat Al Rodda — lost to a 30-year-old Republican upstart named John Doolittle. Since Rodda's surprise defeat, voters in Sacramento and its surrounding suburbs have been treated to escalating political warfare between Democrats and Republicans.

This tradition continues in 1986 with expensive contests shaping up in two districts — the 6th Senate where incumbent Democrat Leroy Greene faces a popular Sacramento County supervisor, Sandy Smoley; and the 5th Assembly where Democrat Jack Dugan squares off against businessman Tim Leslie in an effort to succeed retiring incumbent Democrat Jean Moorhead Duffy.

Doolittle and his mentor — Republican state Senator H.L. Richardson of Arcadia — were the first to recognize and take advantage of Sacramento's political evolution. When Doolittle, then a Richardson aide, ran for Rodda's Senate seat, few took him seriously — including Rodda and the Senate's Democratic leadership. White-haired and bespeckled, Rodda was the dean of the Senate and chairman of the Senate Finance Committee who had designed the bailout of local governments following passage of Proposition 13 in 1978.

But a combination of money, computers, direct mail and television propelled the ultra-conservative Doolittle to victory and in the process turned the Senate on its ear. An immediate result was the torpedoing of former Senate President pro Tempore Jim Mills, a San Diego Democrat, who was replaced by David Roberti. On the local level, Doolittle's success meant that Democrats could no longer take Sacramento for granted.

It also marked the start of an all-out political war that saw Doolittle himself forced to run for a four-year Senate term in three consecutive elections — 1980, 1982 and 1984.

After defeating Rodda in the old 3rd District, Doolittle found himself having

Mary Crystal Cage covers local politics for the Sacramento Bee.

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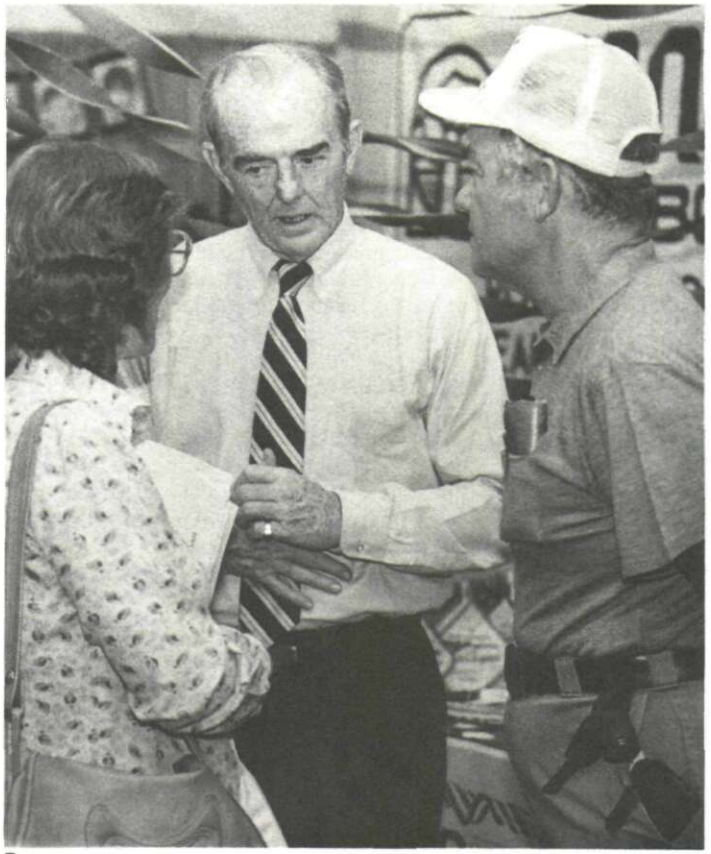
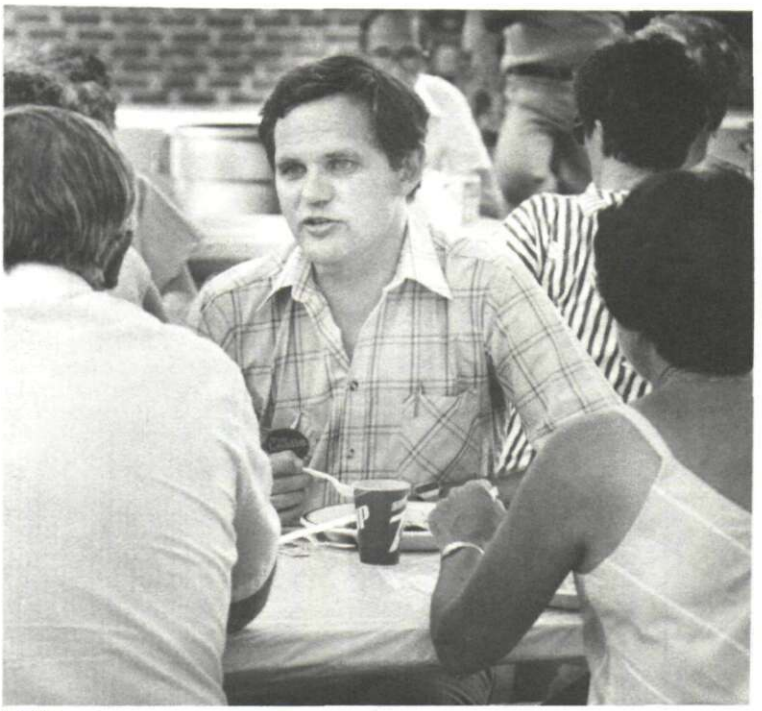


Dugan



Leslie

SEATS IN JEOPARDY

ruggle to hold mento

to run again two years later in the 6th District because of a district-renumbering scheme imposed by Democrats in the 1980 reapportionment. Democrats enlisted as his opponent a feisty assemblyman — Leroy Greene — who bested Doolittle after a tough campaign. (Despite his defeat, Doolittle filled out the remaining two years of his term then ran again in 1984, defeating fellow incumbent Ray Johnson in the *1st* District which includes Sacramento's northern suburbs. Although an independent and former Republican, Johnson was backed by Senate Democrats in his race against Doolittle.)

Six years after Al Rodda's defeat, Democrats maintain a weakening grip on Sacramento politics. For example, a political novice — Republican Ross Relles — came within 900 votes of becoming Sacramento's mayor in 1983, losing to veteran Councilwoman Ann Rudin who has close ties to the city's Democratic Party. And despite polls predicting that incumbent Duffy would wax opponent Tim Leslie back in 1984, the Democrat won by less than 1500 votes. To capitalize on what they hope is a trend, Republicans have made top priorities out of the two Sacramento races in 1986.

Greene-Smoley

The Greene-Smoley contest in the 6th Senate District is a rematch of sorts for two political consultants — San Franciscan Clint Reilly who is handling Greene and Sacramentan Doug Watts who is advising Smoley. In 1978 Reilly managed former Sacramento City Councilman Robert Matsui's successful effort in the 3rd Congressional District, defeating Smoley and Watts after a tough campaign. Watts has since gone on to political fame and fortune as co-engineer (with partner Sal Russo) of George Deukmejian's come-from-behind victory over Tom Bradley in the 1982 race for governor. Watts was also a key member of Ronald Reagan's re-election team in 1984.

A second win for Reilly over the Smoley-Watts team may not be easy, and Democrats are taking the race seriously. Although Greene has held local office in Sacramento for nearly twice as long as Smoley, the Republican says her polls show 97 percent of district voters know her while only 69 percent know Greene. There is also considerable independent opinion that Smoley — and not Greene — has what is known as "incumbent advantage" because of her high-profile tenure as a county supervisor.

For his part, Greene scoffs at Smoley's polls, saying, "I think God, Jesus and maybe the president would have the 97 percent ID in the county." Still as feisty as he was in 1982 despite his 68-years, Greene says he has been through a dozen general elections and won them all. And he leaves the distinct impression that the chips will fall no differently this year.

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The race promises to be expensive as well as grueling. Smoley has set her sights on a warchest of $850,000. As a supervisor for 14 years in one of the fastest-growing counties in the state, Smoley can draw on contacts with developers and local businessmen to fuel her financial engine. And, she points out, "local money means local support."

Greene has the all-out support of Senate Democrats whose leader — President pro Tempore David Roberti — has vowed to spend whatever it takes to get Greene reelected. In addition, Sacramento-based Senate staffers are expected to spend their spare time as volunteers on Greene's campaign.

Roberti's concern in the 6th District involves more than Leroy Greene's political health, however. It also concerns his own. In one of the ironies of political life, a loss in Sacramento may topple Roberti from his Senate perch — just as a similar loss six years ago helped topple his predecessor and bring Roberti to power. Roberti — like Jim Mills before him — is feeling some pressure from Democratic colleagues, and the loss of Greene and one or two other Senate Democrats could trigger a campaign to dump him as president pro tem.

Smoley, a Sacramento County supervisor since 1972, has nearly impeccable Republican credentials. The nurse-turned-politician has known President Reagan since he was California's governor. She was appointed by him to several presidential commissions, including a hunger-assistance task force and the advisory commission on intergovernmental relations.

Despite her strong ties to Reagan, the 50-year-old county supervisor has a moderate, non-partisan image. She supported the Equal Rights Amendment, public funding of child-care centers, equal rights for gays and public funding for abortion. And she has fought for continued funding of Sacramento County's Rape Crisis Center and battered-women's shelter.

Greene supporters say her stance on feminist issues may cost Smoley Republican votes. Some 23 percent of the Republicans who voted in the June primary didn't vote for her.

Although Greene and Smoley started evenly matched, in August Smoley stumbled politically — not once, but twice. And by Labor Day, Greene supporters were grinning ear to ear. Smoley angered her colleagues on the Sacramento County Board of Supervisors — and undoubtedly some constituents — by backing sheriff's deputies who staged a five-day sickout in mid-August. By the end of those five days, county taxpayers had paid $110,000 in overtime for deputies who had worked extra hours while fellow officers stayed home to protest the county's contract offer. Smoley's role in the dispute earned her some barbed comments in the local press and a cold shoulder from fellow board members.

In addition to Smoley's troubles in the deputies' dispute, Greene was able to wrestle away the endorsements of a half-dozen women's organizations. The near clean-sweep of women's endorsements for Greene was the result of intense lobbying by his supporters, including a staffer assigned to his subcommittee on women in the workforce.

Greene didn't gain those endorsements out of hand, however. The Sacramento chapter of the National Women's Political Caucus had to go through three votes, including a final mail-in ballot, before Greene secured its endorsement for the general election.

Nor did everyone agree with the decision. Carole Nutt, a Democrat and vice-chairwoman of the state National Women's Political Caucus, serves on Smoley's advisory committee. "This is an opportunity for Sacramento to elect a feminist woman. If I didn't support Sandy, I'd be turning my back on everything I believe in." Nutt said. Still, her

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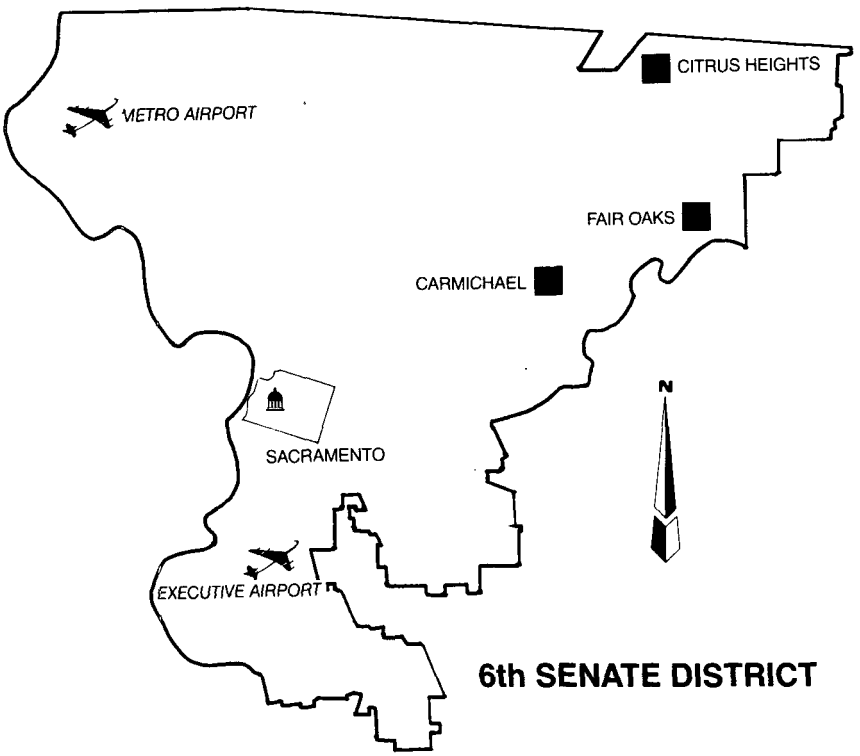


6th SENATE DISTRICT

side lost.

Smoley did manage endorsements from a few women's groups, notably the National Women's Campaign Fund and the Los Angeles Women's Campaign Fund. Still, the bulk of women's endorsements went not to the female candidate but to Leroy Greene, and some experts think this reflects on Smoley's ability — or inability — to attract cross-over Democratic votes come November. Those cross-overs are a necessity in a district where voter registration stood at 57.7 Democratic, 32.7 Republican in August.

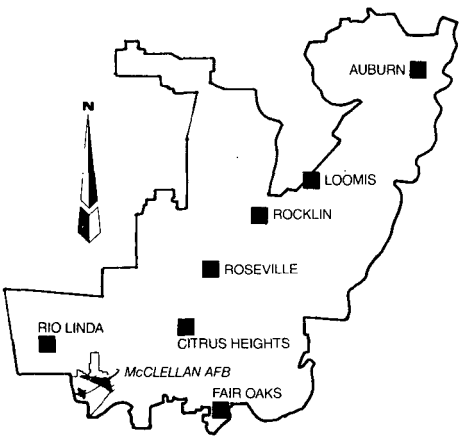
If Smoley has one major advantage, it is her personal presence. There is a distinct difference is style between Greene and Smoley. Greene is considered abrasive; Smoley warm and friendly. She's also regarded as a strong campaigner who works tirelessly. She'll have to be to wrest away Democratic votes from a Democratic incumbent no matter how abrasive. And despite his less-than-cheery countenance, Greene is known as a lawmaker who works hard for his district — a reputation Greene is currently nurturing in his television ad campaign.

Dugan-Leslie

In the 5th Assembly District race, registration favors the Republican — Tim Leslie. The 5th Assembly District straddles eastern Sacramento County and southern Placer County and includes the suburban Sacramento communities of Citrus Heights, North Highlands, Fair Oaks, Roseville and Auburn. It is both rural and conservative in nature, as evidenced by the nearly 63 percent vote given Ronald Reagan in 1984 and 56 percent vote for George Deukmejian in 1982.

Democratic registration has dipped from 52 percent to 50.9 percent since 1984, while Republican registration has climbed from 36 percent to 38.6 percent over the same period — further evidence of the area's tilt to the right.

To take advantage of the shift and avoid another thread-thin loss at the polls, Republican Leslie has set a goal



5th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

of $600,000 for his campaign warchest. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown's financial and political managers have promised to match GOP expenditures to keep the 5th District in Democratic hands.

(That the seat is Democratic at all is due exclusively to Duffy who was elected in 1978 as a Republican but switched parties in 1981 after repeatedly breaking ranks with the Republican Caucus on key votes.)

The two opponents in this race are very different men. Leslie was an analyst for Sacramento County, a legislative consultant for the Republican Assembly leadership and a lobbyist for the County Supervisors Association of California before entering private business and hitting the campaign trail in 1980. During the past six years, Leslie has either been running or preparing to run for office. He ran for Sacramento County supervisor in 1980 and for the Assembly in 1984, losing each time.

Dugan, on the other hand, is a former New York cop and retired Army colonel who Speaker Brown looks upon as just short of a divine drop-in as a replacement for the moderate Duffy. Dugan, possibly best known as the sidekick to former Governor Jerry Brown's chief of staff B.T. Collins, currently heads the state attorney general's crime-prevention office, giving him the tough law-and-order image needed to win over the district.

Dugan had only one small, tiny problem prior to announcing his candidacy: He didn't live in the 5th District. The ramrod-straight Irishman lived just outside it but moved in December and launched his campaign in January.

He was able to overcome charges of carpetbagging by a tough primary opponent — Placerville Councilman John Byouk — with an aggressive campaign highlighted by precinct walkers armed with photo albums showing Dugan as a helicopter pilot and commander during the Vietnam War. There were pictures of Dugan with injured men and on missions in the Vietnam jungle and copies of some of the 22 citations for bravery received flying more the 1000 combat missions — impressive stuff, especially in a district that includes platoons of retired military families and McClellan Air Force Base.

But according to Leslie, Dugan is a "professional bureaucrat" who is allowed to stray from Willie Brown's liberal platform just enough to win in November. If elected, Dugan will vote with Brown's liberal Democratic caucus, Leslie maintains.

Still, after two years of laying the groundwork for his 1986 campaign, Leslie considers himself the heir apparent to the seat Duffy has chosen to vacate. And he flashes an almost impish smile whenever his chance of winning that seat is discussed. He'll get plenty of help from a beleaguered Assembly Republican Leader Patrick Nolan who has made winning the seat a top priority, and from Governor Deukmejian who has agreed to host a Leslie fund raiser.

The only thing standing in his way is Jack Dugan. And Willie Brown's campaign organization.

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ROSTRUM

Court confirmations

Thank you for the extensive coverage of the California Supreme Court, but the administration of the Court was overlooked. Administration is a significant function of the chief justice. Therefore the administrative skill of Chief Justice Rose Bird warrants consideration. I think competent administration has improved the ability of the Court to get its work done.

BOB ISSAC
Lakeport

Before you are deluged with a trio of "thank you" cards from Stevie Lamar Fields, Earl Lloyd Jackson and Robert Alton Harris for reversing their death sentences (*CJ*, September 1986, page 445) this may be an appropriate point in time to break the news: Those are the three death penalties that the California Supreme Court has upheld. In both the Harris case and the Fields case, Rose Bird was in the minority of 4-2 decisions, joined by Mosk in the Harris case and Reynoso in the Fields case.

I was dismayed by your rather superficial coverage of the victims of these crimes. The California Supreme Court will never be accused of promoting public safety until it is rid of Rose Bird, Cruz Reynoso and Joseph Grodin.

KEN ERHARDT
San Diego

Unfortunately, your (September) cover came up to the standards of taste and objectivity that have characterized the Rose Bird campaign.

JOHN J. HEINSIUS
Modesto

The *Journal*'s September issue covering the forthcoming Supreme Court confirmations was excellent in many respects. However, I found your coverage unbalanced in that you focused exclusively on issues raised by Court opponents without mentioning many of the issues raised in the justices' defense. The present Court has incurred the wrath of a variety of special interests due to its decisons favoring consumers, employees, tenants, farmworkers and other average citizens. Court supporters contend that these special interests have raised the death penalty as a smoke-screen to hide the other important economic and social issues at stake in this year's Court confirmation. I was disappointed that the *Journal* did not examine any of these issues and did not investigate the identity and record of the principle Court opponents. Such an examination, I believe, would have provided your readers with more complete information for judging the justices.

JOHN HOLME
Oakland

Thank you for running my article on the "gang of three" in your special Supreme Court issue. Unfortunately, in comparing the records of Bird, Reynoso and Grodin to the balance of the Supreme Court, the published version included the comment that Justices Kaus and Broussard are "widely considered middle-of-the-road in judicial philosophy."

These were not my words. The original text avoided subjective political characterizations of individual justices. Instead, my text referred to Kaus and Broussard's lengthy judicial experience and, in Kaus' case, to approval of his appointment by both liberals and conservatives — including Governor Deukmejian.

On reflection, the "middle-of-the-road" reference might have confused readers because the article was intended to show that blanket political labels are difficult to apply in a judicial election.

BARRY WINOGRAD
Oakland

Leo Rennert

I always have felt, and still do, that Leo Rennert is a fine journalist. However, his September "Perspective from Washington" provides a clear example of what happens when a reporter apparently listens only to one point of view. If Leo only had called, he would have learned that Secretary (of Interior Donald) Hodel and the anti-drilling members of California's congressional delegation put together a *preliminary* agreement on drilling in federal waters offshore of California. If Leo had followed the story, he would know that the preliminary agreement did not become a final agreement because, as the secretary heard during his eleven public meetings throughout California, the preliminary agreement was not in the nation's best interest in terms of our energy future, nor national security nor jobs for Californians and those in other states.

According to Leo, only Secretary Hodel's moves are described as a "partisan ploy," when in fact several of the anti-drilling advocates expressed glee over the fact that the House-fashioned compromise would push this issue into the 1988 elections. And now, the California Senate has passed a resolution declaring Northern California as a sanctuary from toxic wastes and off-shore drilling, leaving those in Southern California out to sea, so to speak. Who is being accused of "divide and conquer" tactics?

DAVID P. PROSPERI
Assistant to the Secretary and Director of Public Affairs
Department of the Interior, Washington

Committee confusion

Our confidence in your accuracy was badly shaken when we read in the August 1986 issue, page 381, that you had arbitrarily taken away Congressman Mervyn Dymally's chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Judiciary and Education of the Committee on the District of Columbia and given it to his friend, Congressman Julian Dixon.

For the past five-and-a-half years, Congressman Dymally has chaired this subcommittee with distinction. It is true that Congressman Dixon is the only member of the California delegation who was born in the District of Columbia, and he carries a lot of water for America's disenfranchised citizens; but chairing the Subcommittee on the Judiciary and Education is a little too much, even for our friend Julian.

MIYA IWATAKI
Media Coordination for Congressman Dymally
Washington

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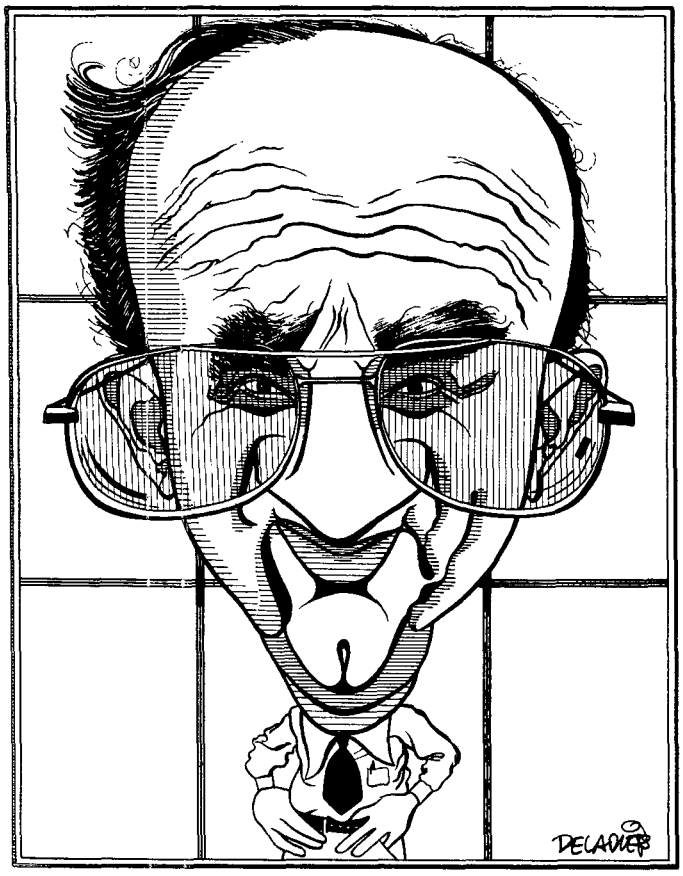
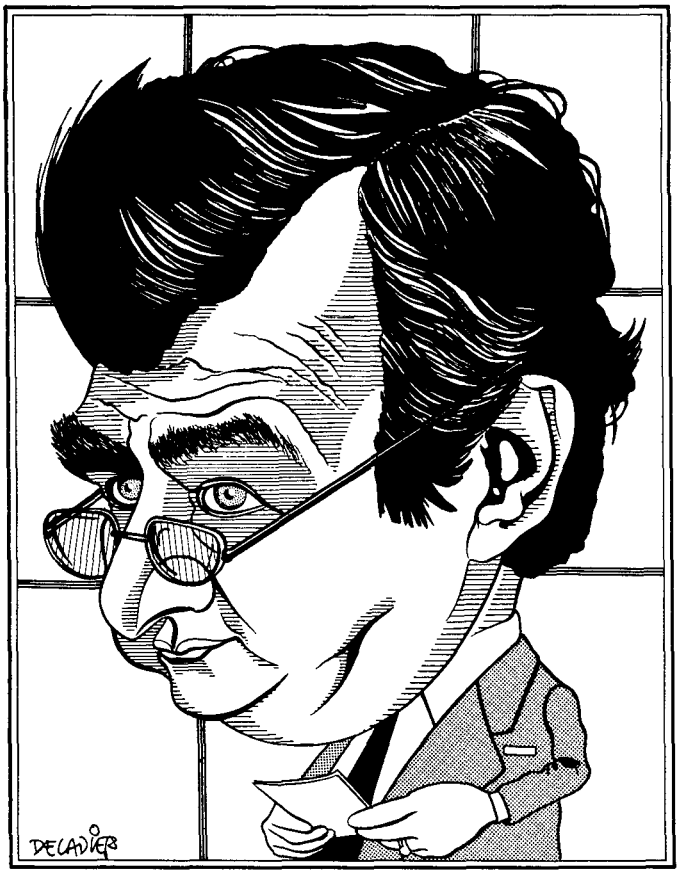
KOPP



PAPAN



Town Grump vs. The Enforcer

By MARK SIMON

Assemblyman Lou Papan, his political consultant and his pollster were reviewing for the news media one day in late August a poll they had taken for Papan's campaign for the 8th Senate District seat. The poll showed Papan, the Democratic nominee, ahead of San Francisco Supervisor Quentin Kopp, who qualified for the ballot as an independent, by a margin of 40 percent to 34 percent.

Then the discussion turned to the subject of Russell Gray, the little-known, under-financed Republican nominee who had barely campaigned in the primary and from whom less was expected in the general election campaign. Papan and his consultant, Speaker Willie Brown's energetic campaign chief Richie Ross, smiled when Gray's name came up.

Gray had 9 percent of the vote. And Papan, an insurance agent by profession, had no trouble understanding the significance of Gray's presence on the ballot. Even if Gray had the resources to wage a major campaign — and there has been no indication he does — he would be hard-pressed to attract any attention in a race that has been dominated by two of the more outspoken, unabashed political personalities in the state.

Gray's problems as the Republican nominee begin with Kopp who, despite his self-bestowed label of independence, is the district's *de facto* Republican candidate. Kopp acknowledged as much in a fund-raising letter that states, in part, "I represent the first candidate with an open mind to Republican concerns from the district. There are many issues on which Republicans and I will agree."

Kopp says he has spoken to the leadership of both parties, indicating that he will vote with the majority in housekeeping matters, but he will join neither caucus. Still, Kopp is relying on financial help from customary Republican sources, and perhaps from a Republican leadership spurred to action by the horrifying prospect of arch-Democrat Papan running amok in the upper house.

But even Kopp, who has legitimate political claim to the independent label, has some significant problems in a district as solidly Democratic as the 8th. The district has been represented since 1975 by Democrat John Foran of Daly City who since has run without significant opposition. Foran decided this year to opt for the more comfortable life in a political law firm.

Part of Foran's decision may have been prompted by the possibility of a challenge from Kopp who had changed his registration from Republican to decline-to-state and indicated a desire to run for the state Senate. Foran's decision to move on, however, caused Papan to decide to move up,

Mark Simon is a political writer for the Peninsula Times Tribune.

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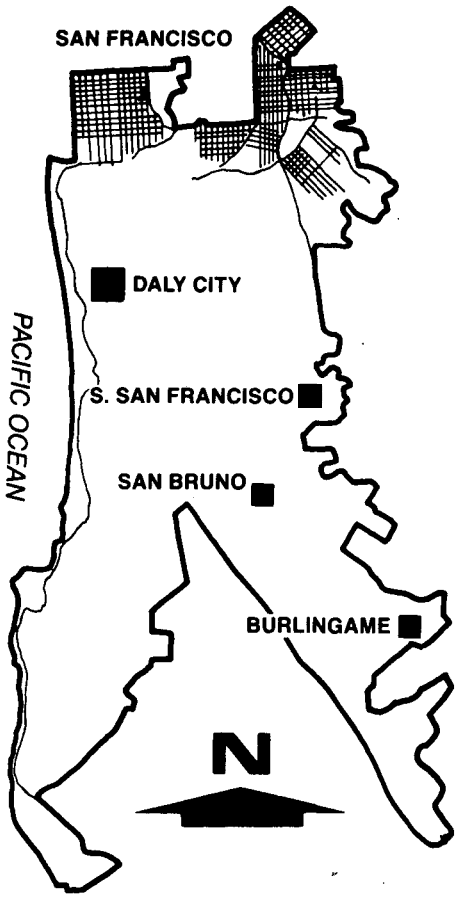

8TH SENATE DISTRICT

setting the stage for a confrontation of significant proportions.

Advantages

Papan and Kopp each has a credible claim to some advantage in the district. The 8th is divided between San Francisco and northern San Mateo County, taking in the blue-collar communities of Daly City, South San Francisco and the middle-class cities of San Mateo and Millbrae.

Fifty-six percent of the voters reside in San Francisco, giving Kopp a seeming edge. He has been elected to the Board of Supervisors both citywide and by district. He ran for mayor in 1981 against Dianne Feinstein and did surprisingly well, forcing Feinstein into a run-off election. He is among the city's best-known politicians. But his reputation has spread outside San Francisco. Kopp's work on such issues as transportation and the relocation of the San Francisco Giants has gained him regional attention, as has his leadership in bringing Super Bowl XIX to the Bay Area in 1984.

The result is that Kopp is widely known and has district-wide name recognition of more than 90 percent, according to polls from both campaigns.

Papan has his own local ties. His 19th Assembly District is entirely within the 8th, and he has represented some portion of the Senate district for all of his 14 years in the Assembly. Papan also is well known, but some of his reputation is tied to news reports of high-speed driving and confrontational politics in the Legislature. As chairman of the Assembly Rules Committee, it is Papan who disposes discipline for Speaker Brown.

Papan even acknowledges his reputation in campaign literature and tries to cast it in a positive light. "Some people in the state Capitol fear Lou Papan. Some call him a bully. Others refer to him as the 'enforcer.' But the disabled, the children, the homeless, the poor, the frail elderly, the farm workers, the victims of crime know that Lou Papan has a gruff exterior . . . and a heart of gold," reads one piece, entitled "Lou Papan. Tough . . . With A Heart Of Gold."

Papan's real edge comes in the political nature of the district, which has a registration of 63.7 percent Democratic and 22.7 percent Republican. It has the sixth highest Democratic registration among the state's 40 Senate districts. The San Francisco portion of the district includes parts of the Democratic Assembly districts of Speaker Brown and Assemblyman Art Agnos.

Papan's strategists also say the 8th is one of the most liberal legislative districts in the state. Campaign polls show that voters will favor a self-described liberal Democrat who supports spending on social programs over an independent fiscal conservative with a liberal record on environmental and social issues.

"There is not another district in the state where you would get this response," Ross said. Ross says this is a district where being supported by police organizations can lose a candidate votes.

When the worst-case scenarios are played out — labeling Papan a liberal Democrat supported by Willie Brown — Kopp still does no better than 40 percent of the vote, Ross said.

"This is a 40 percent district. Kopp has never done better than 40 percent in San Francisco and he won't in this district," Ross said.

Town grump

But Kopp insists this is a district that can be won by his own brand of independence. Kopp once admitted in his 1981 mayoral race that he had a reputation for being the "town grump." His fiscal conservatism and his somber, sardonic manner have left him allied with none of the usual political segments of San Francisco, except for the financial establishment.

That image has a down side, but it also gives Kopp a certain credibility, a recognition that he is intelligent and, most of all, independent-minded.

All of which works well, he says, in a race against Papan who is completely allied with the liberal establishment of the Assembly. Kopp calls Papan a "puppet of the special interests" that dominate legislative activity in Sacramento.

Is that a message that will sell to hard-core Republicans in San Francisco (and there must be some)?

Therein lies the key to the race. Republican Gray is on the ballot because his filing fee was paid by state Sen. H. L. Richardson, the Legislature's leading conservative. Richardson has endorsed Gray, and Gray has ties to many of the most conservative elements in the state.

But barring some unforeseen influx of money, Gray will be little more than a presence on the ballot, a third option for those unwilling to vote for either Kopp or Papan.

And there will be plenty of reasons to look elsewhere.

Neither Kopp nor Papan is known for political caution. In the several days following the June primary, Papan denounced Kopp as a hypocrite, a phony and an ambitious politician devoid of genuine principle.

Kopp called Papan a bagman for special interests, a puppet of Brown's and a liberal machine politician.

Each campaign has accused the other of using political spies.

In the end, each campaign will be well-financed. Each side predicts it will spend $500,000 or more.

Beyond the mechanics of strategy, however, there is a personal edge to this campaign. For one of the two main candidates, this will be a last hurrah. Papan will be out of the Assembly if he loses. Kopp, if he loses, will have just about used up his political capital in the city, making a pitch for higher office unlikely. And as much as either side may want to win, each would enjoy almost as much the prospect of his opponent's defeat.

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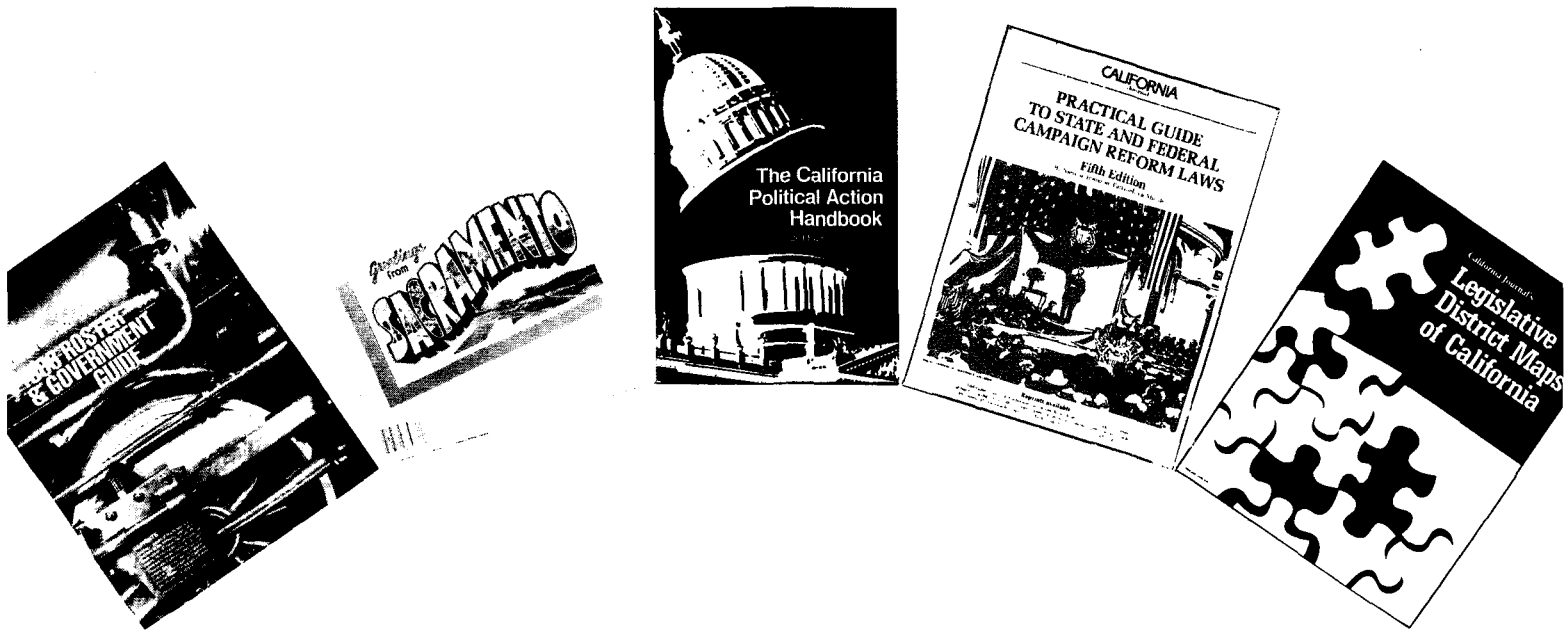

Roster & Government Guide, 1986. contains the names, titles, addresses and telephone numbers of all the key players in California government; a list of state agencies, a legislative-process chart and plenty of other useful information. Price for the 16-page pamphlet; 100 or more copies, 33 cents each; 50-99 copies, 48 cents each; 2-49 copies, 85 cents each; single copy, $1.50.

Practical Guide to State and Federal Campaign Reform Laws *by Nielsen, Hodgson, Parrinello & Mueller.* This 16-page booklet, prepared in an easy-to-understand question-and-answer format, explains the myriad new campaign reform laws. The 1986 edition reflects the most recent changes in the law. Copies are: 100 or more, 54 cents each; 50-99 copies, 74 cents each; 2-49 copies, 95 cents each; single copy, $1.95.

Legislative District Maps of California. Newly updated description of every Assembly, state Senate and Congressional district in California, including registration data and 10 maps. Also includes a brief history of reapportionment for the decade of the '80s. Price for this 8½" x 11", 16-page booklet: $1.50 ea.; 2-9 copies, 95 cents ea.; 10-49 copies, 75 cents ea.; 50 or more copies, 50 cents ea.

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How good is the Field Poll?

By ED COSTANTINI and D. KARL DAVIS

Who will win California's race for the U.S. Senate and by what margin? Some of the best evidence we have to answer this sort of question is *The California Poll* (Field Poll). But just how good is the poll?

Mervin Field is the nation's premier state-level pollster. Director of The Field Institute and chairman of the Field Research Corporation, he is a serious craftsman, a careful student of opinion-measurement methods, an active participant in the professional world of public-opinion researchers and recognized by his peers as a leader in the field.

The Field Poll, now in its 40th year of conducting surveys of the state's citizenry, is supported largely by the nine newspapers and two television stations subscribing to it. The Field Poll is to our state what the Gallup Poll is to the nation. Indeed, Field worked for Gallup's pioneering polling organization before coming to California to embark upon his own pioneering effort at state-level opinion analysis.

A review of the poll's record shows that, much more often than not, Field's last poll before election day correctly presaged the outcome. Because of the widespread publicity given to the poll, early Field Polls can have substantial impact on the political process. Candidates far behind in the poll find they cannot raise money needed to successfully campaign, while those too far ahead worry that supporters won't bother to show up on election day. Candidates also typically try to time advertising blitzes to coincide with when Field is conducting his polls.

But despite respect for Field and his poll, there is some feeling in the political community that Field may no longer have the most reliable poll around. A number of campaign officials from both parties believe Field habitually overstates the likely vote given to Democrats. A study of Field's final election-year polls confirms a slight bias for Democrats, and there is some evidence the bias has been larger in recent elections.

Ed Constantini is a professor of political science at UC Davis. D. Karl Davis is a student intern.

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"The poll favors incumbents a little bit, and it favors Democrats a little bit . . . It has lost a lot of credibility with most of the political players in the state," said David Townsend, a campaign consultant for Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley.

The perception is about the same in Governor George Deukmejian's camp where campaign spokeswoman Kristy Flynn said their polling "hasn't always been in concert" with Field. She notes, for example, that Field had Deukmejian 11 points ahead of Bradley in August at the same time their own polling had the governor 15 points ahead.

Field concedes, "It's quite possible that we did have or may still have a Democratic bias." He maintains this is caused by the difficulty of building a computer model that will correctly discount the percentage of Democrats who will actually go to the polls on election day. That percentage needs to change as the Democrats' registration edge has dropped from 20 to 13 points. "It's quite probable that even though we've made recalculations . . . we may still not have adjusted enough," Field said.

Even so, Field believes his overall record has been "pretty good."

Every two years The Field Poll reports on a series of sur-

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veys measuring the preferences of voters in the major election races then in progress. As is true for all of those in the business of pre-election polling for public consumption, never is more at stake than in the survey conducted immediately prior to a given election day. Not only do the published results of this survey attract the widest public attention but, insofar as they are considered "predictions," they have the singular distinction of allowing all of us to judge their accuracy. For pollsters, these results can produce the ecstacy of having the "predictions" they have just rendered authenticated or, in the worst case, a humiliating challenge to their reputation and that of the entire polling profession.

Pitfalls

When the pollsters are far off in their last pre-election prognostication it is likely to usher in an agonizing period of methodological self-analysis and the contemplation of corrective measures designed to assure better results in years ahead.

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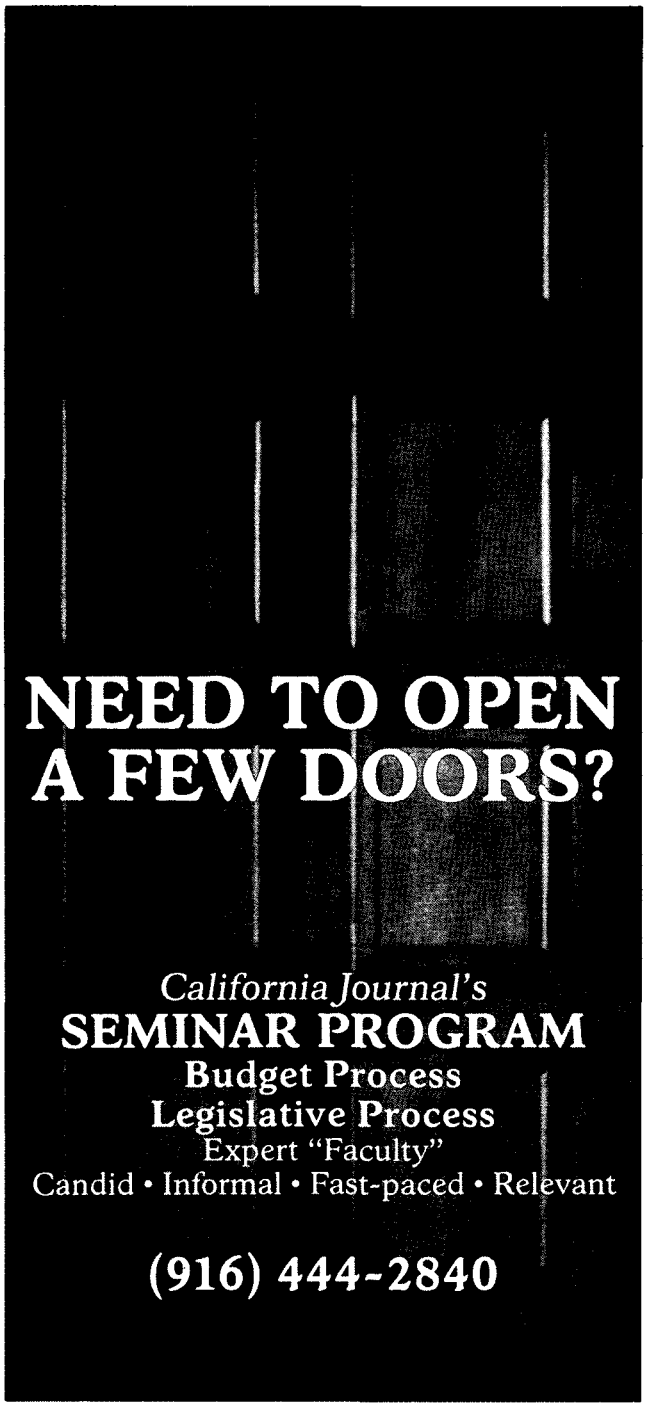

For all the methodological improvements made by the polling profession during its relatively short history, pollsters and public alike have reason to expect less than predictive perfection from pre-election polls. The polling process is inevitably beset with a number of pitfalls, of which the following are the most troublesome:

- **Timing.** Polls, as Louis Harris has put it, are "single snapshots, [taken] at one point in time, of a constantly moving picture." Even if a pre-election poll provided a perfectly accurate assessment of the public's candidate-preferences at the time interviewing occurs, there is that inevitable gap between survey and election day (approximately seven days for Field's last pre-election survey) during which voter preferences can change. For this reason, Field insists a pre-election poll isn't really a prediction, although most of us view it that way, and pollsters — anxious to make their products more saleable — tend to encourage that view.

  Field is embarrassed by, and quick to apologize for, his own youthful excesses in this regard. The Field Poll's last press release before the 1950 election, for example, led with the following: "In tomorrow's election, Earl Warren will be elected governor by a landslide vote." Accurate though it proved to be, such a statement would never emerge from Field's word processor these days.

- **Nonvoting.** Even when the pollster applies proven methods for minimizing the number of respondents who will not vote on election day, there are inevitably some nonvoters who escape the screening process. The problem for the pollster arises because these nonvoters may differ from voters in certain relevant respects; for example, by being disproportionately Democratic.

- **Inaccessible respondents.** Some persons who should be interviewed according to the pollster's sampling method cannot be contacted — even with the use of established call-back strategies — or, if contacted, refuse to participate. Phone interviewing by random digit dialing (RDD) is currently the preferred polling procedure. But, as in the case of its alternatives, some targeted respondents slip through the net. While RDD overcomes the inaccessibility problem associated with unlisted phone numbers which other phone surveys encounter, it obviously cannot overcome the problem of the chronic not-at-homes or the 5 percent or so phoneless households (usually involving poor persons likely to have distinct political views). Nor is it free of the gatekeeper problem, usually involving wealthy persons who are guarded from intrusions.

- **The undecideds.** Despite using a variety of mechanisms designed to prod the undecided voter into indicating a leaning or a preference, there is always a group of respondents who claim they just don't know for whom they will be voting. For example, 6 percent of Field's respondents in the last 1984 pre-election survey were undecided about voting for Reagan or Mondale. Only respondents who have a preference for one of the two major candidates are typically included in the calculations when assessing the predictive meaning and accuracy of pre-election polls. It's those who intend to vote for Cranston as a percentage of those who intend to vote for either Cranston or Zschau that's important, not the Cranston voters as a percentage of *all* poll respondents. In essence this means treating the undecided as if they are going to vote for the major candidates in precisely the same percentages as those who have decided. Yet this is not necessarily the case. The undecideds are particularly susceptible to persuasive allures of last-minute media blitzes by campaigns well enough managed and financed to mount them.

- **Liars.** Some respondents have difficulty telling the pollster the truth. Usually the giving of misinformation —

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whether deliberately or inadvertently — is in the direction of providing responses which the interviewee believes are socially desirable or expected. Thus, habitual nonvoters may say they always vote, will vote in the forthcoming election, did vote in the last election, or in some other way make it difficult for the pollster to sort voters (relevant to preelection predictions) from nonvoters (irrelevant). Occasionally nonvoters may even misrepresent the identity of the preferred candidate; for example a self-identified Democratic respondent who incorrectly states a preference for Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley in order to conceal that race prejudice underlies his intended apostasy.

• **Margin of Error.** Even assuming a given survey has miraculously avoided the sorts of problems identified above, the fact that it is based on a sample or representative subset of a larger population means there is likely to be some difference between the opinions it reveals and those of that larger population. The "margin of error" of a poll based on probability-sampling procedures is a reflection of the size of the sample and can be calculated on the basis of probability statistics.

For a sample of 1000 persons — which approximates the average size of Field Poll pre-election samples — the margin of error is roughly 3 percent, with a confidence level of 95 percent. In other words, the chances are about 19 in 20 that the candidate preferences revealed in an immaculately executed Field Poll will not differ by more than 3 percent (plus or minus) from those which would have been revealed had all of California's voters been surveyed. We shouldn't be surprised, then, if a given poll is off the mark by a couple of percentage points and, occasionally, by more than 3 percent. In fact, we shouldn't be surprised by greater inaccuracies than these since — for the reasons already suggested — pre-election polls are not and cannot be immaculately executed.

Warnings

Field's organization is particularly conscientious about warning clients of potential sources of inaccuracy, including a page with each press release identifying a number of polling pitfalls. Unfortunately, media reports of Field Poll findings rarely include the recommended cautionary comments.

In any event, we must expect imperfection. The question is: "How much imperfection?" How accurate have the Field Poll's final pre-election surveys been as predictive devices? The following table indicates the percentage of the vote "predicted" and actually received in California by candidates for president, governor and U.S. Senate over the course of the Poll's history. Percentages are based on the preferences of those supporting one or the other of the two major-party candidates.

Let us look at the track record in these 31 races in terms of three measures of accuracy, each a bit more complex than the last.

Calling the winner. The Field Poll has correctly "predicted" the election winner in approximately 85 percent (all but five) of the cases considered. Its most recent failure was in the 1982 gubernatorial race when the data incorrectly foretold a victory for Mayor Bradley. The 5 percent overprediction of the Bradley vote may be explained by pollster problems cited above. For example, an eventual voter for winner George Deukmenian may have lied about his preference, as in the illustration of race prejudice. Another respondent may have been incorrectly eliminated from Field Poll calculations as a nonvoter whereas he was eventually inspired to overcome his political lethargy by a last-hour realization that his "right to a gun" was being threatened by a ballot initiative and eventually he or she voted not only against the initiative but against Bradley — a supporter of the initiative and a black man from the big city, as well. Assuming these sorts of cases weren't counteracted by an equal number of cases where eventual votes for Bradley went uncounted, a Bradley overprediction may have been inevitable. At the same time, some pro-Bradley respondents may have eventually not voted. Indeed, Field stresses an unexpectedly low turnout among blacks and other minority voters — predominantly Bradley supporters — as affecting the reliability of his last 1982 pre-election poll.

All elections have certain idiosyncratic features which can bedevil the most earnest pollster. Such features may have been particularly in evidence in the 1982 gubernatorial race, to the point where a loser was the predicted winner.

The inadequacy of "calling the winner" as a test of accuracy is reflected in the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon race. While the Field Poll showed a very slim lead for Kennedy in California, Nixon emerged with an even slimmer lead in the actual vote; while the Poll failed to call the winner in the race, the difference between the predicted vote and actual vote for the two candidates was only one percent. Indeed, in four of the five cases where the Poll failed to call the winner (including the 1964 Senate race, which was characterized as too close to call), the difference in the candidate's predicted percentage of vote and his actual percentage was less than the 3 percent margin of error associated with Field Poll surveys.

Average error. Here we look at the most common test of accuracy — the difference between predicted percentages and actual vote percentages. As can be seen in the chart, the average difference or error for these 31 races is 2.7 percent. This is within the Field Poll's margin of error. On the other hand, that margin or error is exceeded in nine (30 percent) of the contests, whereas we should have expected — given the confidence level used to determine the margin of error — that this would have happened only once or twice — about 5 percent of the time. In two cases it would be fair to say that the prediction-vote difference was embarrassingly

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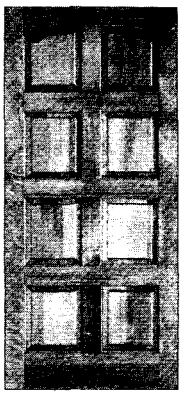

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Tracking the Field Poll

Year	Office	Candidates* Democrat	Republican	(1) Actual Vote Dem/Rep	(2) Field Poll Prediction Dem/Rep	(3) Democratic Over-Prediction	(4) Incumbent Over-Prediction**	(5) Adjusted Prediction Dem/Rep***	(6) Adjusted Democratic Over-Prediction
1948	Pres.	Truman	Dewey	50-50	47-53	−3	−3	44-56	−6
1950	Gov.	Roosevelt	Warren	35-65	33-67	−2	2	34-66	−1
1950	Sen.	Douglas	Nixon	41-59	43-57	2		42-58	1
1952	Pres.	Stevenson	Eisenhower	43-57	47-53	4		46-54	3
1954	Gov.	Graves	Knight	43-57	43-57	0	0	44-56	1
1954	Sen.	Yorty	Kuchel	46-54	48-52	2	−2	49-51	3
1956	Pres.	Stevenson	Eisenhower	44-56	45-55	1	−1	46-54	2
1956	Sen.	Richards	Kuchel	46-54	49-51	3	−3	50-50	4
1958	Gov.	Brown Sr.	Knowland	60-40	62-38	2		61-39	1
1958	Sen.	Engle	Knight	57-43	56-44	−1		55-45	−2
1960	Pres.	Kennedy	Nixon	50-50	51-49	1		50-50	0
1962	Gov.	Brown Sr.	Nixon	53-47	54-46	1	1	51-49	−2
1962	Sen.	Richards	Kuchel	44-56	40-60	−4	4	41-59	−3
1964	Pres.	Johnson	Goldwater	59-41	64-36	5	5	61-39	2
1964	Sen.	Salinger	Murphy	48-52	50-50	2	2	47-53	−1
1966	Gov.	Brown Sr.	Reagan	42-58	47-53	5	5	44-56	2
1968	Pres.	Humphrey	Nixon	48-52	39-61	−9		38-62	−10
1968	Sen.	Cranston	Rafferty	53-47	54-46	1		53-47	0
1970	Gov.	Unruh	Reagan	46-54	43-57	−3	3	44-56	−2
1970	Sen.	Tunney	Murphy	55-45	54-46	−1	1	55-45	0
1972	Pres.	McGovern	Nixon	43-57	42-58	−1	1	43-57	0
1974	Gov.	Brown Jr.	Fluornoy	52-48	55-45	3		54-46	2
1974	Sen.	Cranston	Richardson	63-37	70-30	7	7	67-33	4
1976	Pres.	Carter	Ford	49-51	47-53	−2	2	48-52	−1
1976	Sen.	Tunney	Hayakawa	48-52	51-49	3	3	48-52	0
1978	Gov.	Brown Jr.	Younger	61-39	63-37	2	2	60-40	−1
1980	Pres.	Carter	Reagan	41-59	45-55	4	4	42-58	1
1980	Sen.	Cranston	Gann	60-40	65-35	5	5	62-38	2
1982	Gov.	Bradley	Deukmejian	49-51	54-46	5		53-47	4
1982	Sen.	Brown Jr.	Wilson	47-53	47-53	0		46-54	−1
1984	Pres.	Mondale	Reagan	42-58	41-59	−1	1	42-58	0
		Average Error				2.7	2.7		2.1
		Average Systematic Error (1) Democratic Over-prediction				1.0			0.1
		Average Systematic Error (2) Incumbent Over-prediction					1.9		−0.1

* Incumbents are underlined
** Where there is no entry there is no incumbent running
*** Adjustment of Field Poll prediction of Democratic candidate vote: (1) If incumbent: −3
(2) If Republican opponent is incumbent: +1
(3) If neither candidate is incumbent: −1

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large: the Poll under-predicted Humphrey's 1968 vote against Nixon by 9 percent and it over-predicted Cranston's 1974 vote against H. L. Richardson by 7 percent. The average error for the races in each of the three decades embraced by these data indicate no pattern suggesting either progressive improvement or a degeneration of the Field Poll's accuracy over time; interestingly, the most impressive decade of performance was its first. Similarly, there is no substantial difference in the average error for the three different offices under consideration.

How does the Poll's average error in these 31 cases stand up in comparative terms? Since 1948 the Gallup Poll's ten presidential-election predictions differed from the actual nationwide vote by an average of only 2.1 percent. This is about the margin of error associated with Gallup's last pre-election polls, which — based on samples about twice the size of those used by Field — is approximately 2 percent.

The Field Poll's predictive accuracy with respect to the three offices focused upon here may also be compared to its accuracy on "lesser" statewide races such as those involving constitutional offices below governor. The record in these latter cases is decidedly less impressive than in the former.

Since 1950, for example, the Field Poll's last pre-election surveys have inquired into voter preferences with respect to 27 contests for the five statewide offices below governor. Its average error in these races has been an uninspiring 4.5 percent.

This should hardly be surprising. After all, public opinion on contests for lower office is typically more volatile and includes a substantially larger number of undecided voters than opinion on "top-of-the-ticket" contests, and both of these phenomena create special problems for the pollster seeking predictive accuracy.

Systematic error. Here we take the sign (+ or −) into account in calculating the differences between predicted and actual vote. We are now able to determine if there is an unintended systematic bias underlying Field Poll methods. If all of the signs in column 3 of the chart were negative (−) it would mean that the Republican vote was consistently overpredicted; if there were no negative signs (indicating all were positive) then the Democratic vote would have been consistently over-predicted. In 20 of the 31 races, Field over-predicted the vote of the Democratic candidate and on the average the predicted Democratic vote was 1 percent over the actual Democratic vote. The candidate's party was not the only or even the most serious sign of systematic bias in evidence in this series of Field polls. As shown by column 4, in 16 of the 21 races where an incumbent was running, and in all 15 of such races since 1956, that incumbent's vote was over-predicted. On the average the incumbent's vote has been over-predicted by 1 percent.

Corrective measures

What causes these systematic biases and what consequences follow from knowing about them? Part of the explanation may rest with the timing problem. With seven days or so between poll and election, it is likely the Field Poll is interviewing a number of persons whose attention to the given campaign has yet to be fully captured. As a consequence, they express preferences — subsequently changed as decision-day approaches — rooted in what is most familiar (the incumbency factor) or in their general partisan predispositions (predominantly Democratic in this state). For Field, the poll's apparent pro-Democratic bias results from a persistent problem for which he has yet to find a solution, namely the low relative turnout among Democratic respondents and the variability in that relatively low turnout from election to election.

Whatever the explanation, the discovery of systematic biases allows us to take corrective measures when analyzing Field Poll results. Column 5 in the table shows what would have happened in our 31 races if Field's "predictions" had been adjusted to take into account the combined effect of the two systematic biases we have identified. Specifically, 2 percent is subtracted from the poll's prediction if the candidate is an incumbent, 2 percent added if he is challenging an incumbent. Additionally, we subtract 1 percent from the vote predicted for a Democrat and, of course, add 1 percent to each Republican candidate's prediction.

In seventy percent of the 31 cases, and all but one of the last 13, the prediction is now improved (as can be seen by comparing columns 3 and 6). The number of cases where the winner is not called and the number where the prediction-vote difference exceeds the 3 percent margin of error are cut by a third or more. And the average error under the adjusted prediction is reduced to 2.1 percent and for the 13 contests since 1968 it is reduced from 2.8 percent to 1.4 percent.

If Field earns an "A-" for the predictive value of his pre-election polls, with the recommended corrective measures it moves into rarefied "A" territory. Some may find these grades a bit too generous. The Field Poll, the hardnose could argue, hasn't achieved 90 percent in terms of callling-the-winner (although it does once the corrective measures are applied). Its average error over the 36 years may be within the margin of error. But that should be expected — anything less, the argument would go, should earn no better than a "C" — and in too many cases the prediction-vote difference (even with the corrections) has exceeded that margin of error. Further, there is little to indicate improvement with experience; in certain respects the Poll's performance was best in its earliest years.

Regardless of the grading standards applied, the corrective measures we have identified may be helpful in looking at this year's election contests. If history is any guide, we could — for example — adjust the results of the year's final Field Poll on the Cranston-Zschau race by reducing Cranston's support percentage by 3 percent (because he is both an incumbent and a Democrat) and feel confident that we would be in a better position to predict the election outcome than if we relied on the original, unadjusted figures.

Unfortunately, history is not always a guide. Californians are particularly prone to a perverse form of nonpredictability. Accordingly, it may well be preferable to wait patiently for that one truly authoritative poll — the election itself — to determine winners and losers.

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ROLL CALL

DIVESTMENT

AB 134 (Waters) Requires state pension and investment funds to gradually divest themselves of any stock in companies doing business with South Africa. Passed the Senate August 25th, 27-11; passed the Assembly August 27th, 50-28. Signed by the governor.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

AB 2813 (Willie Brown) Would extend the life of five state-supported school programs, including bilingual education. Passed the Senate August 22nd, 25-5.

STUN GUNS

AB 2969 (Peace) Would prohibit teachers or other public school employees from carrying stun guns for self-defense on elementary and high school campuses. Passed the Senate August 18th, 23-6.

AIDS

AB 3407 (Agnos) Would specifically protect AIDS victims from housing and employment discrimination. These provisions were amended into this bill in the hopes the governor will reconsider his veto last month of legislation to list AIDS as a physical handicap. Passed the Senate August 28th, 25-5; passed the Assembly August 29th, 44-32.

SCHOOL HEALTH CLINICS

AB 4328 (Maxine Waters) Would establish health clinics at three junior or senior high schools for three years to give students information on family planning, drug and alcohol abuse and suicide prevention. Passed the Senate August 19th, 21-13; passed the Assembly August 21st, 42-28.

UNITARY TAX

SB 85 (Alquist) Would effectively repeal the unitary method of taxing multinational companies doing business in California by giving them the choice of being taxed under the unitary formula or under a system in which only domestic income and assets would be considered in figuring the taxes owed the state. Passed the Senate August 26th, 27-7; passed the Assembly August 26th, 68-11. Signed by the governor.

HIGH SCHOOL CLASS SIZE

SB 1604 (Hart) Would reduce certain high school classes from an average of 29 students to 20 students over the next eight years. The governor vetoed a similar bill last year. Passed the Assembly August 28th, 58-21.

PUBLIC WORKS CONTRACTS

SB 2532 (Roberti) Would require 50 percent of the hours spent on public works projects to be performed by California residents. Passed the Assembly August 25th, 42-36.

SENATE

Democrats	AB 134	AB 2813	AB 2969	AB 3407	AB 4328	SB 85
Alquist (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ayala (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	N	Y
Boatwright (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
Carpenter (D)	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Deddeh (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Dills (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Foran (D)	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y
Garamendi (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Greene, B (D)	Y	*	*	*	*	Y
Greene, L (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Hart (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N
Keene (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Lockyer (D)	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y
Marks (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McCorquodale (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	*	
Mello (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Montoya (D)	Y	*	Y	N	N	Y
Petris (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Presley (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Robbins (D)	Y	*	*	Y	*	Y
Roberti (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Rosenthal (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Stiern (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	N	N
Torres (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Vuich (D)	Y	*	Y	Y	N	
Watson (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*

Republicans	AB 134	AB 2813	AB 2969	AB 3407	AB 4328	SB 85
Bergeson (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Beverly (R)	N	Y	Y	*	N	Y
Campbell (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*
Craven (R)	N	Y	Y	*	N	Y
Davis (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Doolittle (R)	N	N	N	N	N	Y
Ellis (R)	N	N	N	*	N	Y
Maddy (R)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*
Morgan (R)	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nielsen (R)	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Richardson (R)	N	*	N	*	*	*
Royce (R)	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Russell (R)	N	*	Y	N	Y	N
Seymour (R)	Y	N	*	Y	*	Y

ASSEMBLY

Democrats	AB 134	AB 3407	AB 4328	SB 85	SB 1604	SB 2532
Agnos (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Areias (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Bane (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Bates (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Bronzan (D)	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
Brown, W (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Calderon (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Campbell, R (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Chacon (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Clute (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Condit (D)	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y
Connelly (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Cortese (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Costa (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Davis (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Duffy (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Eaves (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Elder (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Farr (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Floyd (D)	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y
Hannigan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Harris (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Hauser (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Hayden (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Hughes (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Isenberg (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Johnston (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Katz (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Killea (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Klehs (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Margolin (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
McAlister (D)	N	N	N	Y	N	Y
Molina (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Moore (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
O'Connell (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Papan (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Peace (D)	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Polanco (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Robinson (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Roos (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sher (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tanner (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Tucker (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Vasconcellos (D)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
Vicencia (D)	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
Waters, M (D)	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Waters, N (D)	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N

Republicans	AB 134	AB 3407	AB 4328	SB 85	SB 1604	SB 2532
Allen (R)	N	N	*	Y	Y	N
Bader (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Baker (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Bradley (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Brown, D (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Felando (R)	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
Ferguson (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Filante (R)	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Frazee (R)	N	*	*	Y	Y	N
Frizzelle (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Grisham (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Herger (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Hill (R)	*	N	N	Y	*	N
Johnson, R (R)	*	N	N	Y	Y	N
Jones (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Kelley (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Konnyu (R)	Y	N	*	Y	Y	N
LaFollette (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Lancaster (R)	N	N	N	Y	Y	N
Leonard (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Lewis (R)	N	*	N	Y	N	N
McClintock (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Mojonnier (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	N
Mountjoy (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Naylor (R)	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Nolan (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Rogers (R)	N	N	*	Y	N	N
Seastrand (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Sebastiani (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Statham (R)	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Stirling, L (R)	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N
Wright (R)	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Wyman (R)	N	N	*	Y	N	N

*indicates absent or not voting

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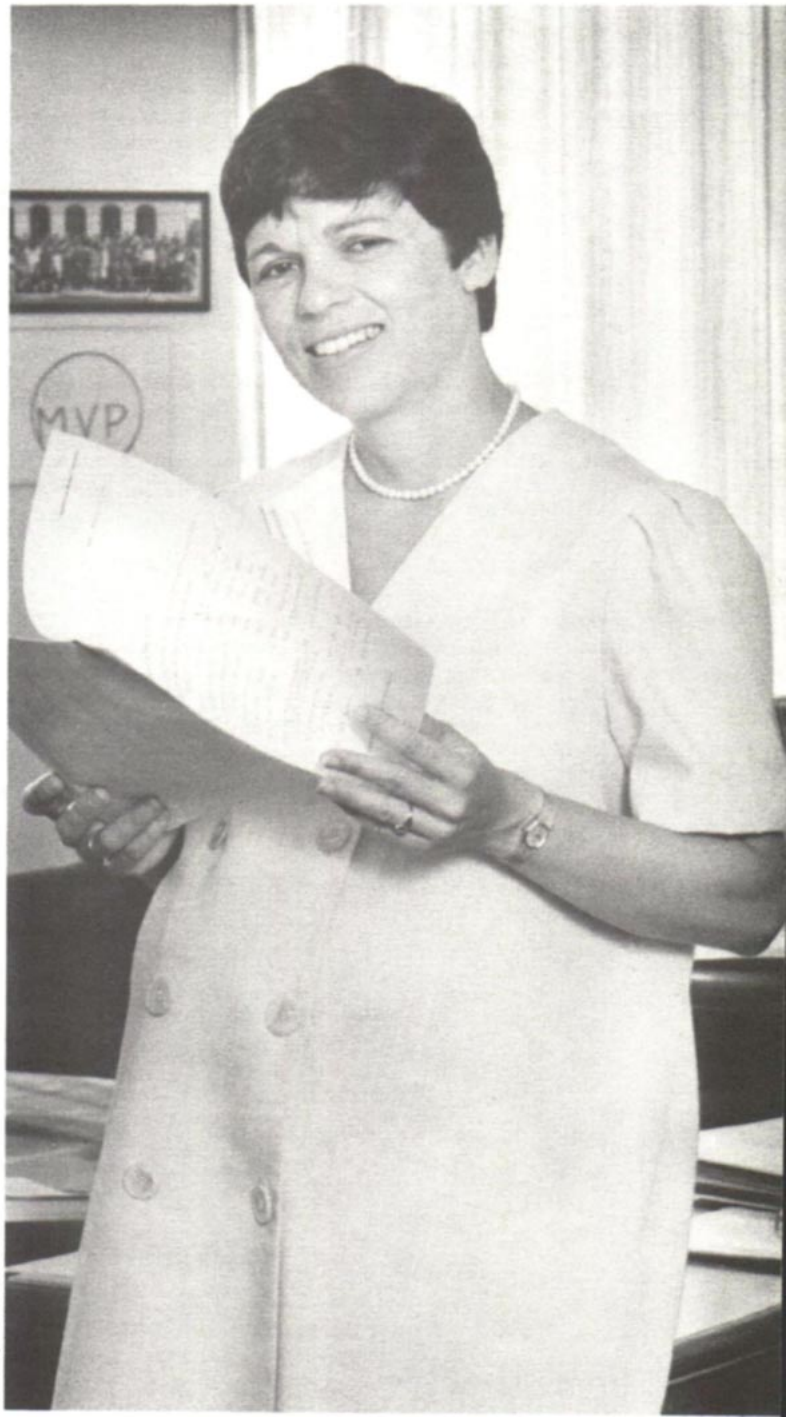

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

ELIZABETH HILL

The Legislature hires a new analyst

By REBECCA LaVALLY

As the Legislature's top budget adviser, former Legislative Analyst William Hamm remembers vainly trying to "push around" one of his most able staffers, urging her to recommend cutting a Justice Department project he thought was too lavishly funded. But Elizabeth Hill — who was selected in August to be Hamm's successor — wouldn't hear of it. She said, "Nope, maybe next year. We haven't got all the facts," he recalled in a recent interview.

"I pouted a little bit and tried to look hurt, thinking that would appeal to her," recounts Hamm, now with World Savings and Loan Association in Oakland. But it didn't work. "She was just adamant and, I think, quite right. We weren't ready to make that recommendation," he concedes now.

Hill is a persistently pleasant woman, gentle-natured and unassuming. Her remarks to the press so far have been guarded, perhaps portending a far different style than that of predecessors who relished at least a share of the limelight.

One of the first things she was asked by a reporter was whether she is tough enough to stand up to "the crotchety old codgers" of the Legislature when analyzing administrative and legislative budget proposals. Hill, a 10-year veteran of the analyst's office, said she thought so.

The task of guiding the Democrat-controlled Legislature in adopting — or rejecting — fiscal bills and crafting its version of the state budget automatically puts Hill in a crossfire. Created 45 years ago, the post — which only four people have held — is historically non-partisan and therefore credible and widely respected. In a later interview Hill said she sees her post as a "people job" but concedes she will have to be tough when confronting legislators with unfavorable reviews of their pet projects. Annoyed lawmakers rarely mince words.

"I think the analyst has to have a lot of courage to call the shots as she sees them, and that means that a lot of times you're going to take heat from one side or the other," she said. "My management style is that I like to try to get information from a lot of points of view. In that sense, I'm more soft-spoken. But when the rubber hits the road, I will be there."

Internal struggle

When Hill, 36, appeared before the Capitol press corps in August for the first news conference she had ever held, she was eight months pregnant and typically soft-spoken. She listened politely as the chairman of the Joint Legislative Budget Committee, Democratic state Senator Walter Stiern, described in surprisingly candid detail the internal struggle that, after a prolonged stalemate, led to her selection.

Although the 14-member panel, with some members absent, announced that its decision was unanimous, Stiern made it clear Hill was not everyone's first choice. The As-

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Rebecca LaVally is bureau manager for United Press International in Sacramento.

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sembly contingent, it later was learned, had complained too few minorities were among the 150 hopefuls, so two blacks were recruited during the Legislature's summer recess to join four other finalists. One remained when the top contenders were again pared to four.

John Vickerman, a veteran of the analyst's office who had been acting chief since Hamm's departure in April, was the sentimental favorite among the panel's Senate contingent. But Stiern, who leaves the Legislature this year at age 72, told reporters some lawmakers believed Vickerman, at 57, was nearing retirement. Hill, he said, would be more likely to serve for many years. And, he added, Vickerman could be acting analyst again when Hill went on maternity leave.

Hill will get an $87,552 yearly salary (provided voters don't approve Proposition 61 in November to trim it to $64,000). Hamm says he told some applicants worried about the uncertainties of the salary that he doubted Proposition 61 would pass. But if it does, Hamm says, lawmakers still could raise specific salaries if they choose. "I would think the Legislature would give that an awful lot of consideration," he said of its pay scale for the analyst.

Although the analyst is free to criticize most state programs, the Legislature as a whole is a sacred cow and its own budget is never questioned by the analyst who doesn't forget he or she is a legislative employee. The analyst also historically takes pains to avoid criticizing individual members. But that genteel policy does not extend to individual legislator's spending proposals, which are all fair game. But the heaviest artillery is reserved for the administration whose programs, records and plans the analyst dissects with great fervor.

Those who know Hill say she can — and will — pit herself against anyone. But her appointment surprised some veteran legislative staffers who were certain the joint budget panel of 13 men and one woman would import an East Coast fiscal guru rather than name Hill to the post — one of the most influential in state government. The job had never been held by a woman, let alone an exceedingly pregnant one.

"I guess that was our main concern at the time," one of the panel's members, San Jose Democratic Senator Alfred Alquist says of her pregnancy. "You know, that's one reservation I had myself. She's going to be off a couple months, and no woman with a child under a year old is going to fully occupy her mind with other matters. So that was a matter of concern to a number of people."

But, he added: "She would still have Mr. Vickerman there to rely on. I think Mrs. Hill will grow into the job very well."

Says Hill: "When I decided to apply, I knew the pregnancy might be an issue. I thought it was important to be honest, to let them know my personal plans and my plans for the office, and let them make the decision."

She says her selection "does show there is a lot of opportunity there: that things are different now than they used to be. If a woman aspires to a particular career path, she should go for it. You pay your dues and see what happens."

When Hill was named, Hamm said he was annoyed the headlines focused on her sex. "The point of those stories should not have been that Liz is the first woman, but that Liz is first-rate," he said. "Liz is a very tough individual and I don't have any doubts she will be able to handle the pressure that comes from the process and the strong feelings that run through that process.

"She understands the essential aspects of her job: That is, to maintain objectivity and non-partisanship in everything that office does. Even more important than maintaining a high quality of work is maintaining the objectivity and non-partisanship. I know she will use all of her considerable powers to make sure that happens," Hamm said.

Alquist, chairman of the Budget and Fiscal Review Com-

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mittee that works closely with the analyst, says he suspects Hill's demeanor hides "a lot of toughness" and adds that she has "a very impressive background."

Stanford grad

Hill completed her undergraduate work at Stanford University, earned a master's degree from the University of California's Graduate School of Public Policy at Berkeley in 1975 and was a Fulbright Scholar at the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1976. She joined the legislative analyst's office that year and rose rapidly, becoming a principal program analyst in 1979 and later assuming office-wide editing and supervisorial duties.

She will work periodically during her maternity leave until January, when a new Legislature convenes and the governor offers his 1987-88 state budget proposals.

Hill's husband, Larry Hill, is assistant dean of engineering at California State University, Sacramento. She says the way she schedules her time and her work — which will stretch over weekends and late into the night during busy legislative periods — will have to "evolve" as she takes command of the office. The couple also have a 4-year-old son.

"I'll have to find my own style," she says. "You've got to pace yourself so you don't burn out too early. "You have to be able to interact with so many different groups. You've got to be able to listen to members (of the Legislature), to the staff (of the analyst's office) and to the executive branch. Even though it's a budget job, I see it as a people job. We have to be out there listening and interacting with the folks who implement the programs, the policy makers who adopt the programs and the clients and pupils who are impacted — as well as the taxpayers who pay for the programs."

BALLOT FRONT

A roundup of statewide initiative proposals. All statutes require 393,835 valid signatures; constitutional amendments require 630,136. In parentheses is the deadline for sponsors to submit signatures to county clerks, and the issue of California Journal *that contains a full explanation of each measure.*

New in circulation:

MARIJUANA — an initiative statute, sponsored by Barton Gilbert of Burbank, that declares marijuana an intoxicant alongside dry wine and provides for its regulation as such by alcoholic control agencies. One ounce of marijuana would be considered the same as one gallon of dry wine. The measure also repeals current law which lists marijuana as a controlled halucinogenic substance. (January 1, 1987)

Failed to qualify:

ABORTION — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Susan Sassone of the Santa Ana-based group "Choose Life," that would have prevented public money from being spent "directly or indirectly for the killing of innocent human individuals from fertilization until natural death."

GAMBLING — an initiative constitutional amendment, sponsored by Gerald Ronnebeck of Adelanto, that would have banned all forms of commercial gambling in California except in four areas: Adelanto, Blythe, Los Banos and Bakersfield. It would also have set up a state gambling commission to regulate various games of chance.

Source: Secretary of State March Fong Eu

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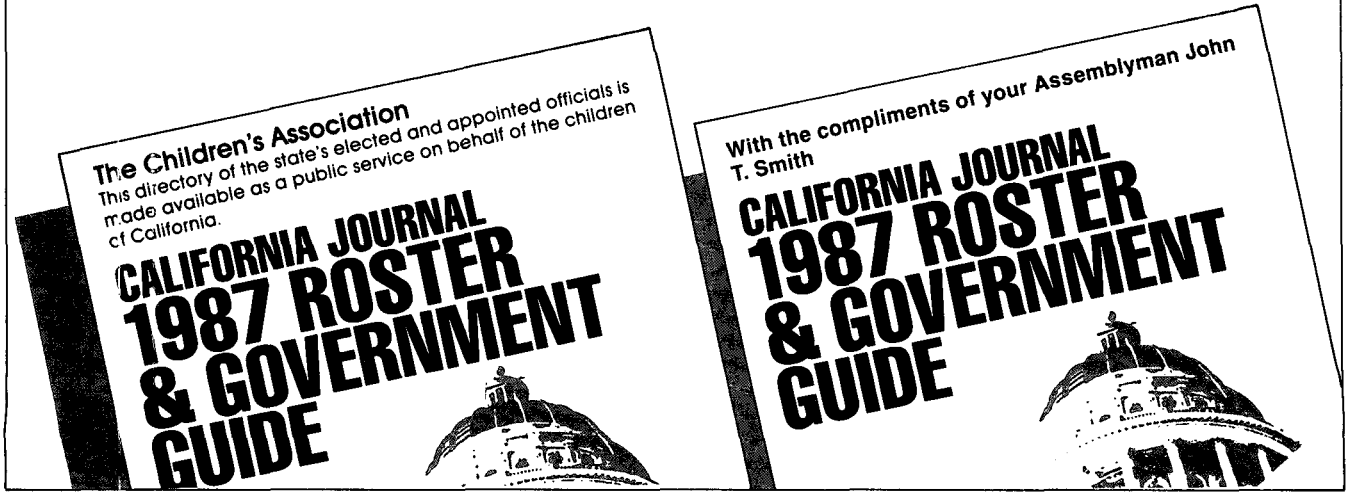
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Perspective from
WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

The Forgotten Contests

At the White House, as the mid-term congressional elections head into the homestretch, the battle for control of the Senate has become this fall's dominant political challenge. President Reagan doesn't want to be a lame-duck during his last two years in Washington. So, he's criss-crossing the country and throwing his personal prestige on the line in hopes of preserving the GOP's slim control of the upper house. In doing so, however, he may be giving Democrats an opportunity to outflank him on the other side of Capitol Hill. White House neglect of key contests for the House of Representatives could prove costly after the November 4th elections.

THE SENATE HAS CAPTURED the spotlight because Reagan helped to capture it for the GOP in 1980 and it has been an essential bastion for the administration in practically every legislative fight over domestic and foreign policy in the last six years. Now, Senate Republicans are faced with the difficult task of defending a 53-47 majority. Their job is complicated by the fact that they must defend 22 of the 34 Senate seats that are up for grabs. White House strategists are prepared to settle for a slimmer 51-49 GOP margin in the next two years. Without a Republican Senate, they know, Reagan will be forced to play defense until 1988.

However, lost in all these calculations is the fact that the outcome of the House contests also may pact an important punch. True enough, Democrats already enjoy a lopsided 252-180 majority in the lower chamber and their continued control is assured. But for Reagan, the important thing in the last six years has been the size of the Democratic majority and his ability to sway enough House Democrats to vote his way.

For the first two years of his presidency, when Democrats had 10 fewer seats than they now have, Reagan was able to control major House votes by assembling a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats. As a result, the administration successfully pushed through its big 1981 tax cut, a big defense build-up and extensive reductions in domestic programs.

The last mid-term elections, in 1982, changed all that. Democrats gained 26 House seats and Reagan never recovered fully from that setback. Even with a GOP pickup of 14 seats in 1984, the House has continued to frustrate the president and has made it much tougher for him to score occasional victories.

If Republicans next month lose 20 or more House seats, Reagan's legislative agenda will be in deep trouble — even if the GOP holds on to the Senate. Democrats would strengthen their ability to dictate legislation on key floor votes. More important, the House would have far more leverage to prevail in final bill-drafting conferences with the Senate.

The question now is whether Reagan will lift a finger to minimize Republican losses in the House. In 1982 Republicans didn't want him to campaign in their districts when a recession was on. In 1984, House GOP leaders pleaded with the White House for direct campaign support by a president who was headed for a landslide victory. But Reagan's handlers were more interested in a smashing 49-state triumph against Walter Mondale than in using the president's political capital to help Republicans pick up more House seats. There was a lot of murmuring in Republican congressional cloakrooms after the election that Reagan had thrown away a golden opportunity to strengthen his position on Capitol Hill.

California Congressman Tony Coelho, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, believes the White House has become so mesmerized with the Senate contests that it is again giving short shrift to the House. He predicts a Democratic pickup of 10 to 15 House seats — an outcome that could mean serious trouble for Reagan's push to fund Contra rebels against the leftist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua and for the administration's defense budget.

California's 45 House contests will figure only marginally in the Democrats' efforts to increase their strength. California-style reapportionment has produced a preponderance of safe districts — for both Democrats and Republicans. Strategists in both parties do not expect a big shift from the Democrats' current 27-18 majority in the delegation. "In California, we'll end up at least even and perhaps pick up a seat," says Barbara Pardue, communications director of the House GOP Campaign Committee.

Still, there are a few House races in Reagan's homestate that bear watching. The Democrats' prime target is Bob Dornan of Garden Grove, the most flamboyant member of the GOP delegation. Democrats also are taking aim at Fresno Congressman Charles (Chip) Pashayan and the seat being vacated by the retirement of Gene Chappie of Chico. In both these races, however, Republicans go into the homestretch with a clear edge.

For their part, national GOP strategists believe Democrat George Brown of Riverside could be vulnerable. Coelho confidently predicts the reelection of all Democratic incumbents.

Republicans accuse Coelho of "lowballing" his forecasts of Democratic gains. Because of the "six-year jinx" that historically afflicts the party holding the White House, Democrats should pick up a far greater number of seats, Republicans argue. Even a loss of 20 GOP seats would be a Republican "victory," they claim.

DEMOCRATS DISMISS THE "SIX-YEAR JINX" as a nonsensical precedent. They concede that it worked for Democrats during the 1958 recession, for Republicans in 1964 when Vietnam was an unpopular war and conflicts raged on college campuses, and for Democrats in 1974 because of Watergate. But Democrats argue that there are no such cataclysmic events this year and incumbents of both parties have improved their ability in the meantime to gain the upper hand over challengers. "This year's incumbent reelection rate will set a record," says a spokesman for Coelho's Democratic campaign panel.

For Reagan, who's on his last political roundup after 22 years on the campaign trail, the stakes are enormous. On the line are the survivability of the "Reagan revolution" and GOP hopes for a permanent political realignment that could make Democrats a minority party.

In California, the president's biggest objective is to help Republican Ed Zschau in his uphill fight against Democratic Senator Alan Cranston. On election night, Senate results will provide the biggest bang. But it's a safe bet that the outcome of the House races will be more than just a whimper.

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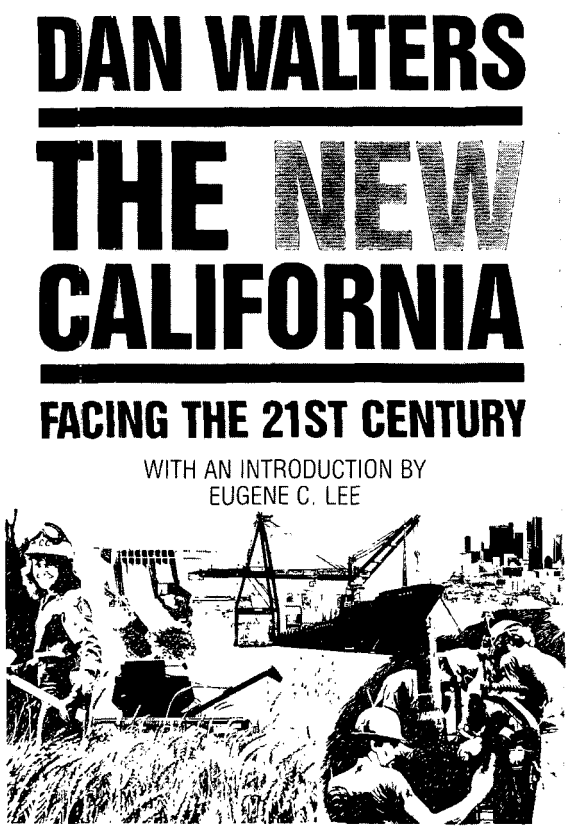

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by Dan Walters

with an introduction by Eugene C. Lee

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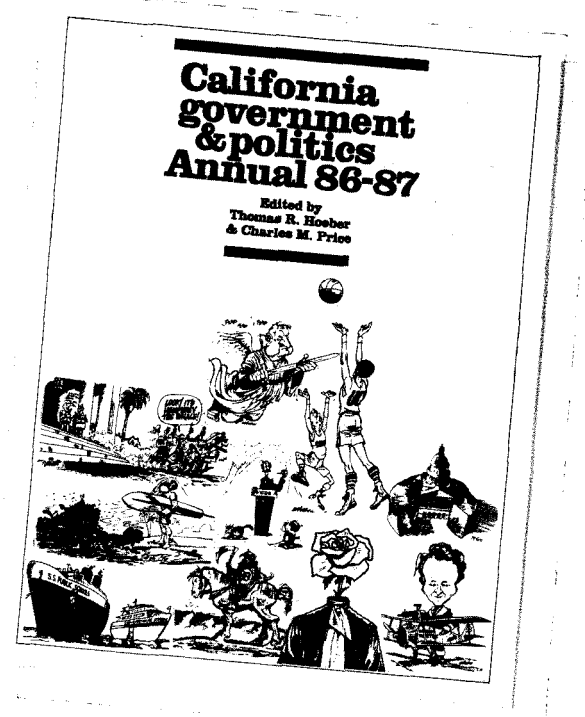

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